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CHUMASH PREHISTORY

BY

RONALD L. OLSON

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THE CENTRAL CHUMASH COAST

Disks, sites discussed in this paper. Circles, other sites at which excavations were made.

CHUMASH PREHISTORY

BY
RONALD L. OLSON

INTRODUCTION

This account of two summers' archaeological work in the vicinity of Santa Barbara and on Santa Cruz island is intended as a brief résumé of some of the more important general findings. For this reason it deals, in the main, with stratigraphic work and with site differences based upon the relative frequency of occurrence of various types of objects. A detailed, systematic account of the excavations made, of general geography and site location, and of the objects found, grave by grave, is reserved for a future publication.

In 1927 two weeks were spent in work on the Mainland, eleven on Santa Cruz island; in 1928 seven weeks were devoted to the Mainland, six to the Island. The sketch map indicates the sites at which excavations were made. On the Mainland fairly extensive work was done at four sites (nos. 1, 2, 6, and 10), and casual excavations made at the others. Island sites, 3, 83, 100, 122, 131, 135, 138, 147, 159, and 162 were each worked for a week or more. A number of other sites were given some slight attention. Sites 1 and 2 proved to be the only Mainland sites whose cemeteries had not been rifled by previous investigators or by vandal amateurs. The result is that it was impossible to verify the apparent site and depth differences by means of excavations in the relevant cemeteries. The sites on the Island's northern shore have for the most part suffered the same fate as those of the Mainland, and it was only with difficulty that sites were found which had not been plundered by relic hunters.

The sites of the area which lie near the ocean front are, for the most part, of the familiar shellmound or kitchen-midden type, and do not differ materially in composition from their counterparts in other parts of California.¹ In size the middens vary from an insignificant scattering of a few thousand shell fragments to deposits nearly twenty feet in depth. The area covered varies just as greatly: a site half a mile in length may average but a few inches in depth, while other sites which may be no more than two hundred feet long may be many

¹ E. W. Gifford, *Composition of California Shellmounds*, present series, 12: 1-29, 1916.

feet in depth. Site 3 on Santa Cruz island is probably the largest of the entire region in respect to cubic content. It measures some 600 by 700 feet and averages about 6 feet in depth, giving about 2,500,000 cubic feet (93,000 cubic yards). The shell content, however, is unusually low, so that these figures give a somewhat exaggerated idea of its actual size. Probably the average of the more important middens on the island is under 300,000 cubic feet. Sites on the Mainland would average considerably less.

Without any systematic effort or sacrifice of time, 120 sites were located on the Island in addition to the 86 mapped by Mr. Leonard Outhwaite in 1918. Of these 206 about 10 per cent. have been touched by the archaeologist's spade, but the treasures of more than double that number have been looted by trophy hunters. While considerable collections could still be obtained, the more promising sites have all been more or less systematically excavated.

The usual plan followed in the excavation of large sites was first to sink a stratigraphic pit about three by thirty feet in the deepest part of the mound, using 6 or 12-inch intervals. Following this the cemetery or cemeteries were worked by series of pits. In the smaller mounds the same procedure was used, except that small stratigraphic pits were dug and the materials from them were not screened. In the stratigraphic pits all objects, fragments of objects, and animal bones were saved and segregated according to depth. Materials from the cemeteries were segregated according to burials. Whenever possible, skulls, pelvises, and long bones were saved.

In all about 725 burials were unearthed, but in only about one-half of these were the bones firm enough to permit handling, and not more than 100 were sufficiently well preserved to allow the entire skeleton to be saved. A feature which greatly hampered operations was the occurrence of large numbers of burials in restricted areas. Within a space 75 feet square as many as 150 burials were found. The natives had a sophisticated attitude toward earlier interments and the digging of a new grave was often, even usually, accompanied by displacement of the remains of several previous burials. In most such cases little could be done with the disturbed bones in the way of allocating them with the proper skulls. Out of perhaps 300 individuals who at one time or another had been buried in cemetery 1 of site 83, only 107 were found in an undisturbed condition. In view of this state of affairs it hardly need be added that the depths at which bodies and objects are found in the cemeteries is seldom a criterion of relative antiquity.

GEOGRAPHY

Kroeber, in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*, outlines the territory occupied by the Chumash as follows:

They held the three northern large islands of the Santa Barbara archipelago—Anacapa does not appear to have been inhabited permanently. They clustered thickly along the calm shore from Malibu Canyon westward to Point Concepcion and from there extended northward along the more boisterous and chillier coast as far as Estero Bay. Inland, in general, they reached to the range that divides the direct ocean drainage from that of the great valley; except that in the west their frontier was the watershed between the Salinas and the Santa Maria and short coast streams; and in the east, some small fragments had spilled into part of the most southerly drainage of the San Joaquin-Kern system. The Carrizo plains are doubtful as between Chumash and Salinan and may not have contained any permanent villages.²

The mountainous nature of the mainland portion is relieved only by the valleys of the Santa Maria, Santa Ynez, Ventura, and Santa Clara rivers, a few smaller valleys, and the narrow intermittent coastal plain between Point Concepcion and Point Mugu. Most of the river valleys begin as narrow defiles which gradually widen as they approach the coast. The coastal region, moistened by more abundant rains and by frequent fogs,³ contrasts with the semi-desert of the interior, where only the mountain slopes give relief from the monotony of chaparral, cactus, and random oaks by presenting a generous clothing of conifers. Most of the small watercourses are dry the greater part of the year; and even the rivers fail to maintain a continuous flow all the way to the sea.

The islands, like the mainland, are cut by deep narrow valleys, though here and there fairly gentle slopes stretch from the higher peaks to the ocean. Sandy, surf-pounded beaches alternate with forbidding cliffs. The groves of large oaks, common on the mainland, are restricted to the wider and more sheltered valleys.

The flora and land fauna of the hinterland occupied by the Chumash offered no exceptional inducements to the native. It was otherwise along the coast, where sea mammals, fish, and shellfish are abundant. Accordingly we find a concentration of population along the coast, especially along the more favored ocean frontage between

² Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 78:550-551.

³ The average annual rainfall at Santa Barbara, based on a 54-year period, is 18.68 inches. It is considerably less in the interior. Precipitation is almost wholly limited to the period between the first of November and the end of March.

Point Concepcion and the Ventura river. The islands were in some ways even more favorable than the mainland coast—at any rate the sites are here both larger and more abundant. Higher winds and frequent fogs, especially at the western ends of the islands, are compensated for by the abundance of sea life.

Along the coast from Estero bay to Malibu canyon as well as on the islands, shell heaps which mark the old camp and village sites are found at the mouth of nearly every canyon, and frequently near springs as well. Obviously a supply of fresh water was a potent factor in the determination of village and camp locations. It seems certain that many, perhaps the majority, of these sites were not inhabited the year round. The acorn harvest, seasonal presence of game, and an intermittent water supply were probably the major features which influenced occupancy in such cases. It was along these shores where the population was concentrated that all our archaeological work was done. In the remainder of Chumash territory nothing was attempted beyond the briefest reconnaissance.

STRATIGRAPHIC EXCAVATIONS

While exploratory pits to determine composition and depth, as well as to locate cemeteries, were dug in a great many sites, careful stratigraphic work was done at only seven sites, and in only five cases were the mound materials screened. Ordinary gravel screens with 3 or 4 meshes to the inch were employed. In most cases a sufficient portion of the comminuted shell passed through the mesh with the ash and soil to render the artifacts visible in the residue of rocks and coarse shell. In most instances the mound material was removed in 6-inch layers, but at Mainland site 1 and Santa Cruz island site 147, 12-inch intervals were substituted.

Table 1 lists the commonest objects and their frequency in intervals of two feet. For the sake of brevity the smaller intervals which were actually employed have been grouped into these larger strata. Certain types of objects which occurred too rarely to be tabulated here have been included in table 4. It should be borne in mind that in all the tabulations fragments of objects, unless obviously from the same original, are counted as if they were complete artifacts.

Site and depth differences.—In all the mounds there is a decided tendency in the direction of progressive diminution in number of objects as the bottom of the mound material is approached. This is

especially noticeable in the bottom two feet. At first glance this might be taken to imply a certain amount of "progress" through the centuries, of cultural development and enrichment. Actually the differences are more apparent than real. They are almost certainly due for

TABLE 1
STRATIGRAPHIC EXCAVATIONS

Sites	Depths	Mortars	Pestles	Metates	Mullers	Pseudo-metates	Flint points	Basket pebbles	Bone tools	Straight fishhooks	Circular type fishhooks	Ornaments, beads, etc.	Steatite objects	Presence of asphaltum	Animal bones (lbs.)	Totals
Mainland site 6, trench 47'x3', screened	0-2'	15	11	1	0	0	13	39	38	3	0	0	0	×	20	119
	2'-4'	11	6	3	8	0	6	45	42	6	0	1	1	×	36	129
	4'-6'	3	1	15	67	0	5	42	42	3	0	3	0	×	16	181
	6'-6'8"	0	0	2	28	0	7	6	37	1	0	4	1	×	1	87
Totals.....		28	18	21	103	0	31	132	159	13	0	8	2		73	
Mainland site 10, trench 30'x3', screened	0-2'.....	2	1	0	0	0	14	39	35	2	10	22	1	×	11	126
	2'-4'	2	1	0	0	0	27	41	73	0	16	20	0	×	14	180
	4'-6'	4	3	0	0	0	20	78	55	1	4	5	0	×	20	170
	6'-8'	0	0	0	0	0	12	47	23	3	2	10	0	×	15	95
	8'-10'6"	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	2	1	×	2	10
Totals.....		8	5	0	1	0	74	210	186	6	30	59	2		62	
Mainland site 1, trench 30'x3', screened	0-2'	3	4	0	0	2	9	9	10	2	0	3	2	×	4	44
	2'-4'	2	2	0	0	3	1	3	5	1	0	0	0	×	12	20
	4'-5'	1	1	0	0	1	4	7	11	1	1	3	0	×	7	30
Totals.....		6	7	0	0	6	14	19	26	4	1	6	2		23	
Sta. Cruz Island, site 100, trench 30'x3', screened	0-2'	0	0	0	0	1	14	17	15	7	3	11	0	×	8	68
	2'-4'	0	2	0	0	8	11	40	20	7	14	12	0	×	38	114
	4'-6'	5	4	0	0	3	6	105	14	4	10	5	1	×	33	157
	6'-6'8"	6	0	0	0	3	2	75	10	3	1	6	0	×	13	96
Totals.....		11	6	0	0	15	33	237	59	21	28	34	1		92	
Sta. Cruz Island, site 147, trench 40'x3' to 6', then 10'x3', Items below 6' multiplied by 4.	0-2'	10	3	0	0	6	22	99	57	11	9	36	0	×	40	253
	2'-4'	26	2	0	0	19	8	182	33	12	9	64	3	×	40	358
	4'-6'	20	6	0	0	4	20	220	55	16	13	18	0	×	48	372
	6'-8'	0	0	0	0	0	36	200	36	20	4	16	4	×	36	316
	8'-10'	0	0	0	0	8	8	68	16	4	4	0	0	×	20	108
	10'-12'*	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	8	4	0	0	0	×	16	16
	12'-14'†	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	×	16	12
Totals.....		56	19	0	0	37	94	773	209	67	39	134	7		216	

* Not screened below 10'.

† Shell ends at 16'6". Mid-tide level at about 15'9".

the most part to a decrease in the shell and bone in the lower levels. Intensity of occupation is no doubt indicated very largely by shell and bone proportions. Artifacts, shells, and bones undoubtedly find their way below the original surface of the site and since the trenches were consistently carried to the extreme limit of the shell, the tabulations cannot but indicate discrepancies between levels which are in all probability determined by natural forces rather than cultural factors. In harmony with this interpretation is the obvious positive correlation between frequency of animal bones and frequency of artifacts. The same relationship will be found to hold for percentage of shell and frequency of artifacts.⁴

Differences in pattern or style of the same objects are almost non-existent as we pass from the lower to the upper levels of any one site. Nowhere was a definite or significant change observable. Mortars and pestles, metates and mullers,⁵ flint work, fishhooks and barbs, ornaments—all these, if present at the various levels, show a drab uniformity throughout.

In comparing site with site, however, a few seemingly significant differences come to light. Mainland sites 1 and 10 and Island sites 100 and 147 are alike in nearly all particulars. With the exception of the absence of "pseudo-metates"⁶ from site 10, all of the classes of objects occur in all these sites. Mainland site 6 alone stands out as differing from the others in some respects. Genuine metates and mullers, except for a single muller from the lower stratum of site 10, are absent in the other four sites but are present in considerable numbers in site 6. Furthermore the proportion of metates-mullers to mortars-pestles changes very materially as we proceed from the lower to the upper levels of site 6. In the lower 4½ feet of pits A and B, 112 metates and mullers were found while only 4 mortars and pestles appeared. The relative frequency is reversed in the upper 4 feet, which yielded 42 mortars and pestles but only 12 metates and mullers. The excavations at this site make it appear that while both the mortar-

⁴ This need not be true in comparisons of site with site. Thus, Mainland site 1 at pit A probably contains a higher average of shell than Island site 147, but site 1 is considerably poorer in artifacts.

⁵ The metates of the region are the rough coast type with oval depressions. No metates of the Southwest or Pueblo type were found. (See fig. 1.)

⁶ I have used this term for the various flat or concave slabs and fragments, which lack definite evidences of use as genuine mealing stones. That these stones were not genuine metates is borne out by the lack of mullers in the sites where they occur. Some show the marks of rubbing, but it seems likely that the grinding of shell ornaments and of bone implements rather than use as mealing equipment explains their peculiar form.

pestle and metate-muller modes of grinding were present almost throughout, there was a real change in the prevailing method. The metate and muller were used almost exclusively during the period when the lower strata were laid down, but gave way to the mortar and

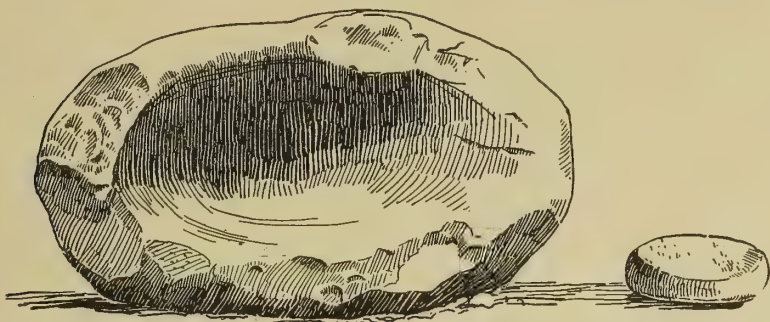


Fig. 1. Oval metate of type found in site 6. Muller used with metates of this type; length 134 mm.

pestle in the later period. The very definite type of both metates and mullers found at this site (see fig. 1) makes it extremely unlikely that their absence from other sites should be an error of observation.

Site 6 also shows variation from the other sites in the absence throughout of the circular type of fishhooks. These are consistently

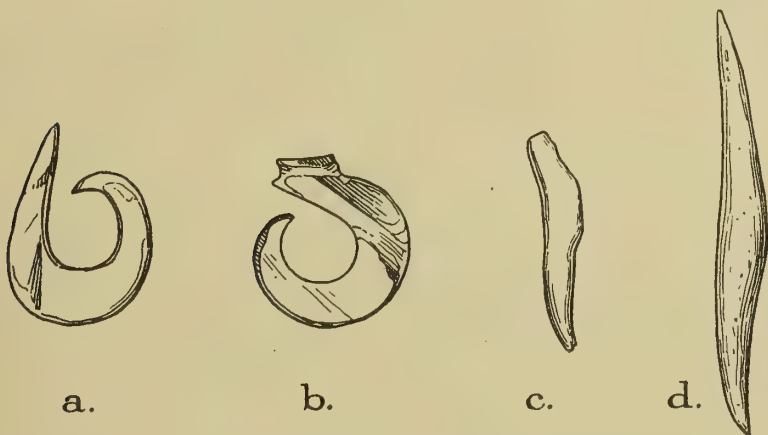


Fig. 2. a, b, circular type fishhooks of mussel and *Haliotis rufescens* shell; c, d, straight type fishhooks of bone.

present at virtually all levels of the other shell mounds. The straight type of hook seems to be present throughout in all mounds (fig. 2).

Relative age of sites.—Of the 5 mounds under discussion, post-European objects were found in 3 (sites 1, 10, and 147). Sites 83 and

100, judging by the preservation of perishable objects, are also relatively recent. Site 6, on the other hand, gave every indication of being considerably the oldest. Here the soil, shell, and ash have settled into a mass so compact that picks had to be employed before the shovel could be used.

The differences in texture of mound material, like the differences in types of objects, are not to be ascribed to local conditions, for sites 6 and 10 are only a few hundred yards apart and both have their seaward margins washed by the surf.

Furthermore, site differences in types of objects have been noted by other investigators. In 1877 at a site near Guadalupe, Stephen Bowers found more than 200 mullers as well as spearpoints, arrow-points, and charmstones. In 1900 Dr. Philip Mills Jones visited the same site. I have gone over his materials from this site in the University of California Museum of Anthropology and find that exclusive of flint objects he collected 51 oval metates, 199 mullers, 11 mortars, and 3 pestles. Mr. David Rogers of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History has told me that he finds these definite types of mullers and oval metates restricts to certain sites.^{6a} Mr. Malcolm Rogers of the San Diego Museum has written a paper⁷ in which he

TABLE 2
TIME RELATIONS OF TWO SITES AT RINCON

Site 6											Site 10										
Depths	Pounds animal bones	Presence of asphaltum	Ornaments	Basket pebbles	Flint points	Bone tools	Circular hooks	Straight hooks	Mortars and pestles	Metates and mullers	Metates and mullers	Mortars and pestles	Straight hooks	Circular hooks	Bone tools	Flint points	Basket pebbles	Ornaments	Presence of asphaltum	Pounds animal bones	Depths
0-2'	20	×	0	39	13	38	0	3	25	1	0	3	2	10	35	14	39	22	×	11	0-2'
2'-4'	36	×	1	45	6	42	0	6	17	11	0	3	0	16	73	27	41	20	×	14	2'-4'
4'-6'	16	×	3	42	5	42	0	3	4	82	0	7	1	4	55	20	78	5	×	20	4'-6'
6'-8'6"	1	×	4	6	7	37	0	1	0	30	0	0	3	2	23	12	47	10	×	15	6'-8'
											1	0	0	0	0	1	5	2	×	2	8'-10'6"
											..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
											..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
											..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	

^{6a} Since this paper was transmitted Mr. Rogers has published the results of his investigations under the title, *Prehistoric Man of the Santa Barbara Coast* (Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, 1929).

⁷ *The Stone Art of the San Dieguito Plateau*, *Am. Anthr.*, n.s., 31:454-467, 1929.

has stated that he believed the shell heaps which yield metates and mullers are the oldest sites in the San Diego region. This is substantially in harmony with the hypothesis of Mr. Rogers of the Santa Barbara Museum.

My own work in the Santa Barbara region bears out these findings in a more positive way, my proof being based on stratigraphy rather than on site differences alone. In site 6 the metate was the most common grinding tool during its earlier period, the mortar during the later. In adjacent site 10 no metates were found, and but one muller—and that in the bottom stratum. The recency of site 10 is proved by the presence of a Spanish coin (dated 1790) in the 2' to 2' 6" stratum. It therefore seems likely that all, or most, of site 10 was laid down after site 6 was abandoned.

Table 2 represents what is probably the approximate time sequence of these two sites.

It is apparent from this tabulation that metates and mullers persist throughout the period of site 6 and into the beginning of the period when site 10 was being laid down. Circular fishhooks were unknown to the inhabitants of site 6 but were used during all but the earliest period of site 10. All other classes of objects were employed throughout the entire combined period.

TABLE 3
STRATIGRAPHIC EXCAVATIONS: FREQUENCIES PER 1000 CUBIC FEET

Site	Depths	Actual cubic feet	Mortars and pestles	Metates and mullers	Pseudo-metates	Straight fishhooks	Circular fishhooks	All other objects	Total objects	Average per 1000 cu. ft.
Mainland site 6	0-4'	940	45	13	0	10	0	205	264	294
	4'-8'6"	828	5	135	0	5	0	182	323	
Mainland site 10	0-6'	540	11	0	0	4	48	857	920	616
	6'-10'6"	405	0	2	0	10	10	289	311	
Mainland site 1	0-5'	450	29	0	13	9	2	149	201	201
Sta. Cruz Island site 100	0-4'	360	6	0	25	39	47	447	564	616
	4'-8'6"	405	37	0	17	17	27	598	669	
Sta. Cruz Island site 147	0-6'	720	93	0	40	54	43	1232	1462	980
	6'-14'	240	8	0	8	29	17	436	498	

Table 3 presents the same data as table 1 in a different form. Mortars are combined with pestles and metates with mullers. By calculations of the frequency of types of objects per 1000 cubic feet, the figures are made directly comparable, and differences in frequency which may be dependent on size of excavation are eliminated.

The significant differences between frequencies of metates-mullers and mortars-pestles and of the two types of fishhooks stand out more clearly than in table 1. Table 3 shows more plainly than table 1 that Island sites are definitely richer in artifacts than those of the Mainland. Site 6 (early) exceeds site 1 (late) in number of artifacts per cubic foot but falls far below all other late sites. In average number of artifacts the mounds of the Santa Barbara region are much richer than those of San Francisco bay. Five Santa Barbara sites yielded an average of 14.6 artifacts per cubic yard; three San Francisco bay mounds, 0.9 artifacts; a single mound on Humboldt bay, 3.0.⁸

It is evident from the foregoing data that, so far as Chumash territory is concerned, the metate and muller precede the mortar and pestle as the type grinding implements; and that the circular (shell) fishhook was unknown until about the middle of the period represented by the sites excavated. In other respects few evidences of change in culture based on stratigraphic work are to be seen. Flint work, ornamental objects (beads, etc.) and bone tools show no marked differences in type or frequency; and asphaltum, steatite, and basket pebbles,⁹ in spite of their specialized characters, seem to have been used during the entire period covered by the sites investigated.

The inferences drawn from the stratigraphic work are borne out by findings at other sites. Surface collections from site 8 (Mainland) yielded 15 metates and mullers, and but 5 mortars and pestles; Mainland site 3 produced 48 metates and mullers, only 2 mortars and pestles; at Mainland site 5 were found 25 metates and mullers, no mortars or pestles. The site near Guadalupe where Jones collected 150 metates and mullers and but 14 mortars and pestles has already been mentioned. At none of these sites were human remains located, and at none were European objects found.

⁸ See Kroeber, Handbook, 919. The actual differences are in reality even greater. Localized cemeteries enabled us to avoid burials in stratigraphic pits, and the artifacts found with the very few burials encountered do not appear in my tabulations. Artifacts with burials have evidently been counted in the San Francisco bay calculations.

⁹ Pebbles of walnut size evidently used in the process of coating baskets with asphaltum. They were apparently heated and dropped into melted asphaltum, which was then poured into the basket. The basket was then rotated, the hot rocks keeping the asphaltum in a liquid state sufficiently long to permit the asphaltum to be spread in a thin layer.

On the other hand, the Mainland sites which were occupied until European times give reversed ratios of these objects: site 1, mortars-pestles 42, metates-mullers less than 10; site 10, mortars-pestles 13, metates-mullers 1. Santa Cruz island sites yielded mortars and pestles numbering hundreds, but not more than a half-dozen genuine metates and not one muller. A number of these Island sites were occupied until European times. It seems to be definitely established, therefore, that so far as the Santa Barbara region is concerned, metates and mullers constitute the typical grinding tool of the "early" period, while mortars and pestles virtually displaced them in the later periods. There is good evidence that the circular fishhook (commonly of shell, rarely of bone) came in at a relatively late period. It is nowhere associated in time with metates and mullers. In Island sites it occurs in all but 2 sites; on the Mainland only in sites which are definitely late.

EXCAVATIONS IN CEMETERIES

Table 4 presents the majority of classes of objects found and their frequency in various sites. The assignment of sites to tentative periods is based on a number of considerations: cemeteries which yielded European objects are in all cases classed as "late"; Mainland cemeteries which contain objects typical of the early period exemplified by site 6 are classed as "early"; Mainland sites which lack the types of objects found in site 6 as well as European objects are classed as "intermediate." Island sites which yielded European objects are classed as "late." The "early" Island sites are less objectively classified. Thus, charmstones are wholly absent from late sites and accordingly their presence has been used as one of the criteria of the early Island period. Similarly, bone pendants are not found in late Island sites, but do occur in a number of others. The occurrence of circular fishhooks has been used as a fourth criterion in temporal determinations.

To a certain extent my impressions of the relative antiquity of a site, based on density or hardness of the mound materials, on degree of patination of objects, and on preservation of bones and artifacts, have also been used in the placing of sites chronologically. Such general impressions have in most cases been in harmony with the less subjective determination by similarities in types or occurrences of classes of objects.

TABLE 4
CLASSIFICATION OF ARTIFACTS WITH BURIALS

	Materials from Cemeteries*										Materials from Stratigraphic Excavations																									
	Early Mainland			Intermediate to Late Mainland			Early Island			Intermediate to Late Island			Late Mainland			Early Mainland			Intermediate to Late Mainland			Intermediate to Late Island														
	2	11	.....	1	2	.....	159	162	3	83	83	81	100	82	135	138	1	6	A, B	10	A	5'	4' 4 1/2"	100	147	A	4' 4 1/2"	6' 8"								
Tentative period.....																																				
Site number.....																																				
Cemetery or pit numbers.....																																				
Total burials.....	49	4		26	37		19	25	107	72	88	5	161	9	19	48	56	4' 4 1/2"	6' 4 1/2"	6' 4 1/2"	8	0	6	25	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Mortars.....	17 ¹³	6 ³		12 ⁸	3 ³		0	1 ¹	10 ¹⁰	12 ⁸	77	0	4 ⁴	0	3 ³	0	14 ¹⁰	17	1	5	0	7	0	4	0	11	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Pestles.....	12 ⁶	0		7 ⁷	3 ²		5 ³	6 ⁵	9 ⁶	2 ²	6 ⁴	0	6 ⁵	0	0	2 ¹	3 ²	17	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	11	8	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Metates.....	1	4 ²		2	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1 ¹	0	0	0	0	0	8	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Mullers.....	1	0		0	0		0	0	0	0	4 ⁴	0	2	5	1 ¹	7 ³	2 ²	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Pseudo-metates.....	1	0		0	0		0	0	2	0	4 ⁴	0	2	5	1 ¹	7 ³	2 ²	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Flint points.....	21 ¹²	7 ²		2 ²	26 ¹¹		6 ²	4 ⁴	14 ¹⁰	7 ⁴	40 ¹⁸	2 ¹	53 ²³	1	8 ³	6 ⁶	14 ⁷	19	12	61	13	14	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Drills and picks.....	0	0		1 ¹	0		0	4 ³	2	0	15 ⁷	2 ¹	13 ¹³	3	1 ¹	7 ⁷	1 ¹	....	....	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Perforated stones.....	0	0		0	0		0	2 ²	14 ⁷	21 ¹⁸	9 ⁹	0	11 ⁹	0	1 ¹	5 ⁴	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Charnstones.....	9 ⁴	0		0	0		4 ²	2	1 ¹	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 ¹	5 ⁴	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Steatite pans.....	0	0		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 ¹	5 ⁴	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Steatite ollas.....	0	0		5 ⁵	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 ¹	3 ²	15 ⁹	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Steatite bowls.....	3 ³	0		5 ⁴	3 ³		0	0	3 ³	0	1 ¹	0	1 ¹	0	0	0	7 ⁴	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Steatite beads, etc.....	1	0		11 ⁶	17 ⁹		0	2 ²	21	1	14	0	10 ⁺	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Pipes.....	9 ³	0		0	0		1 ¹	1 ¹	0	2 ¹	2 ²	0	2	0	1 ¹	1 ¹	6 ⁴	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Whistles.....	0	0		0	18 ⁵		0	0	1 ¹	2	8 ⁸	0	6 ⁵	0	0	0	1 ¹	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Basketry.....	0	0		0	1 ¹		1 ¹	2 ²	38 ³⁵	1 ¹	3 ³	0	13 ¹³	2	0	5 ⁴	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bone tools.....	2 ²	2 ²		9 ³	9 ⁵		12 ⁸	3 ³	89 ³⁸	18 ¹⁵	57 ²¹	3 ¹	42 ¹⁵	3	8 ³	14 ⁹	8 ⁵	80	79	163	23	26	35	24	145	84	35	24	145	84	35	24	145	84		
Circular hooks.....	0	0		1 ¹	1 ¹		0	0	0	0	42 ⁵	20 ¹	55 ⁶	0	0	1 ¹	3 ³	0	0	30	0	1	17	11	31	8	17	11	31	8	17	11	31	8	17	
Straight hooks.....	0	0		0	0		0	0	11 ⁵	0	13 ⁷	4 ¹	43	0	0	1 ¹	1 ¹	9	4	3	3	4	14	7	39	28	14	7	39	28	14	7	39	28		
Haliothis shell dishes.....	5 ⁵	0		3 ²	2 ¹		3 ³	7	19	11	2	1 ¹	17 ¹⁵	0	1 ¹	0	12 ⁷	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Haliothis beads, etc.....	1 ¹	0		3	2		1	5	31	8	27	1	25	3	4	11	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Limpet shell beads.....	0	0		1	9		0	1	6	3	7	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Pismo clam beads.....	1 ¹	0		0	0		0	1	10	18	2	0	2	1	3	4	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other shell beads.....	1 ¹	0		8	9		0	9	52	23	17	1	46	3	4	14	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bone beads and tubes.....	0	0		3	12 ⁶		5	1	5	24	19	1	11	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bone pendants.....	0	0		0	2 ¹		1	1	2	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bone pendants.....	0	0		7	6		0	0	5	0	5	1	5	0	0	0	1 ¹	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inlay work.....	11	2		2	14		5	8	35	17	12	1	27	3	0	8	4	0	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ochre.....	2 ¹	0		3 ¹	3 ¹		0	0	0	1 ¹	0	0	5 ⁵	0	2 ²	4 ²	1 ¹	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quartz crystals.....																																				

* Large figures denote number of objects or fragments of objects, small superior figures the number of burials in which such objects were found.

TABLE 5
FREQUENCIES OF VARIOUS OBJECTS PER 100 BURIALS

Site number.....	2	11	1	1	159	162	3	83	83	100	135	138	1
Cemetery number.....			1	2				2	1				3
Tentative period.....	Early Mainland	Intermediate Mainland	Early Island				Intermediate to Late Island				Late Mainland		
Number of burials*	100 (49×2)	100 (4×25)	100 (26×4)	100 (37×2.7)	100 (19×5)	100 (25×4)	100 (107×0.9)	100 (72×1.3)	100 (88×1.1)	100 (161×0.6)	100 (19×5)	100 (48×2)	100 (56×1.8)
Mortars and pestles.....	58	150	76	16	25	28	17	18	14	6	15	4	31
Metates and mullers.....	2	200	8	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Pseudo-metates.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	2	5	14	4
Drills.....	0	0	4	0	0	16	2	0	16	8	5	14	2
Perforated stones.....	0	0	0	0	10	56	19	27	10	7	5	10	0
Charnstones.....	18	0	0	0	20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Steatite ollas and pans.....	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	8	36
Stone pipes.....	18	0	0	0	5	0	0	3	2	2	5	2	10
Circular hooks.....	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	46	33	0	6	5
Straight hooks.....	0	0	0	0	10	4	10	0	14	3	0	2	2
Bone pendants.....	0	0	0	2	5	4	2	25	0	0	0	0	0
Inlay work.....	0	0	28	16	0	0	5	0	5	3	0	0	2

* Figures in parentheses show basis of calculations.

The stratigraphic materials presented in table 1 are in part duplicated on the right-hand side of table 4. In addition a number of objects obtained in stratigraphic work which could not be conveniently shown in table 1 are also indicated.

Table 5 presents some of the data of table 4 in a different manner. Types of artifacts which do not seem to be of chronological significance have been omitted, and the frequencies have been made equivalent by presenting the frequency per 100 graves rather than actual numbers found. Island sites 81 and 82 have been omitted. As in other tabulations, fragments of objects, unless from the same original, are counted the same as complete artifacts.

CULTURAL CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENTS

The data presented in tables 1 to 5 allow us to draw certain conclusions as to the changes, rather minor to be sure but perceptible, which came about in the course of time in the region under discussion.

The Early Mainland period.—The stratigraphic work at site 6 and the minor investigations made at sites 3, 5, 8, 9, and 11 enable us to characterize the period, though in an inadequate way. More complete results should be forthcoming with the excavations of cemeteries which have an equal antiquity. At the beginning of the period covered by these sites there was already a certain amount of local specialization—as is evidenced by work in steatite and by the use of hot pebbles and asphaltum in coating baskets. It seems reasonable, therefore, to infer a previous period during which these techniques were unknown.

The main sources of food were shellfish, fish, land and sea mammals, and probably acorns and other seeds. Perhaps the high frequency of metates and mullers denotes a specialization in vegetable foods. At any rate such an interpretation fits in well with the relatively small amount of shell in sites of this period. On the other hand low shell content may in itself be a correlate of the greater time factor, though this seems unlikely.

Mortars (both the basket mortar and deep types) and pestles were used, but to a minor extent. The bow and arrow, spear, flint scraper, chipped flint drill, and flint knife were expectably present. The ubiquitous bone awl and a fishhook (see fig. 2) with a straight, double-pointed bone barb are the only bone tools recovered. Ornamental objects consisted of steatite and shell beads and ochre. Evidence of basketry rests on the occurrence of basket pebbles, and these permit us

to infer that baskets were given a coating of asphaltum to render them water-tight. Charmstones complete the list of objects from site 6.

Site 2 is rather difficult to place chronologically, but it seems likely that it represents a late phase of this early period. The metate-muller has by this time all but gone out of use, to be replaced by the mortar and pestle. To the list of objects known in site 6 have been added small steatite bowls, steatite pipes, abalone shell dishes, and quartz crystals.¹⁰ Sites 9 and 11 add nothing new in the way of artifacts, but the presence of metates and mullers stamp them as of this period. Sites 3, 5, and 8 also represent this early period.

The Intermediate Mainland period.—With the exception of the metate and muller the elements of material culture known in the earlier period have persisted into this. New elements are steatite ollas (nearly globular urns or bowls, 5 to 18 inches in diameter, usually with small mouths), inlay work of shell beads set in asphaltum, whistles, circular fishhooks, a variety of shell beads, and bone beads and tubes. Steatite beads have become more common.

Late Mainland period.—Culturally there is little to distinguish this period from the preceding. It is represented by only one of the three cemeteries of Mainland site 1. Only one new element is added, steatite pans (large slightly concave slabs of steatite, evidently used as frying or baking pans). The higher frequency of steatite ollas is probably explainable on the basis of Spanish-introduced horses and larger boats which made communication with Catalina island and the Mainland to the south easier. The late period culminates in the brief post-European phase of Chumash culture.

The Early Island period.—In point of time this period, represented by sites 159, 162, 3, and cemetery 2 of site 83, is probably equivalent to the last phase of the early Mainland and the beginning of intermediate Mainland. Mortars and pestles are known but are not so common as on the Mainland—probably due to the paucity of acorn-bearing oaks. Metates and mullers are rare or unknown. The presence

¹⁰ These may, of course, have been known during the period represented by site 6. They would not be likely to occur in the normal refuse heap in which our site 6 trenches were dug. A curious, and at present unexplained, feature of site 2 is the abundance of spearpoints and the rarity or absence of points small enough to be used on arrows. About 40 large and small spearpoints were found but, except for less than a half-dozen surface specimens, not one point which could be classed as an arrowpoint. Certain other respects in which the artifacts of site 2 differ from those of other sites will be discussed in the final report. If the bow and arrow is really absent, there is a faint possibility that we are dealing with a distant relative of the Basket Maker culture of the Pueblo area. But until more extensive work is done in sites of this type, it is futile to discuss even a remote kinship.

of charmstones and of bone pendants, and the absence of steatite ollas, cooking pans, and circular fishhooks set this off from later Island periods.

The Late Island period.—The “late” sites designate those in which European objects were found or in which other factors indicate recency. The charmstone has now passed out of vogue and bone pendants have followed suit. There has been a decided development of work in shell and nearly every grave of this period yields some sort of pendants, beads, and various other types of shell ornaments. By far the most common are those of haliotis shell and these occur in a bewildering array of shapes and sizes. Ornamental objects in other types of shell are more stereotyped in pattern. As on the Mainland the steatite pan and the steatite olla come in late. The low frequency of these objects on the islands seems to indicate that most of the traffic in them was between Catalina island (which seems the most likely source) and the Mainland rather than between Catalina and the other islands.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Canoes.—Several fragments from canoes were found, but only one of sufficient size to warrant any interpretation as to form and type. Seven short pieces, evidently from the two top planks, average about two feet in length, four inches in width, and one inch or less in thickness. They were lashed together by means of cord or sinew which was passed through holes bored about one inch from the edge. There are no indications that ribs were used in construction. If no ribs were employed, it seems likely that the lower part of the hull was of the dug-out type, since planks of the type found would not provide a strong enough hull if used exclusively. The lack of rib marks on our bits of plank, however, cannot be considered conclusive evidence that ribs were not used, or that the bottom of the hull was of dug-out type.

Perforated stones.—No definite evidences of the use of these objects was obtained. Some show the marks of use as polishing implements, and were probably used in finishing arrow, spear, and harpoon shafts. There is some evidence that they were used as the “hoop” in the hoop and pole game. A number of considerations point to a purely ceremonial use, perhaps replacing the earlier “charmstones.” Only a small percentage of the specimens have perforations large enough to permit use as digging-stick weights, and their occurrence in the graves of males also indicates other uses than that of auxiliaries to the digging-stick.

Basketry.—The majority of our basketry remains consists of the asphaltum lining of water baskets. The fibers have decayed, leaving the imprint of the texture and weave. That nearly all the specimens are from Island site 3 is undoubtedly to be explained by the fact that a supply of fresh water is some one and one-half miles distant in summer, hence a need for a considerable number of water receptacles. Wicker, twined, and coiled forms occur but the wicker type seems to be the most numerous at this site. Wicker basketry seems to be rare or unknown in southern California in recent times.¹¹ Since site 3 is early, it is likely that wicker weaves were more common in the early period and that the coiled and twined types came to be almost the only weaves used in the late period. A few bits of basketry from late sites show a preference for the use of surf grass in open twined work. A few fragments of the coiled type were also found in late sites, but wicker weaves seem to be absent. Mats which probably served for wraps and bedding were common, with surf grass in twining the prevailing form.

Fetish bundles.—The identification of wrapped ceremonial objects as fetish bundles is based on comparable objects described by living Indians in southern California. Groups of objects with remains of the "bundle" or wrapping were rare; in most cases the mat or basket wrapping had probably disappeared. Of the contents of such bundles one example will suffice: painted fabric or basketry containing 2 perforated stones, 5 awl or spatula-like batons with quartz crystals set into the open ends, 3 loose quartz crystals, 2 steatite pipes, a small incised steatite dish, and a number of beads, pendants, curious shells, etc.

Pottery.—The Chumash did not manufacture pottery but now and then stray pieces were acquired by trade. Not more than a half-dozen sherds were found, and these were all found within three feet of the surface of the mounds or in post-European cemeteries. All the fragments are the rough, reddish ware common in southern California.

Houses.—It is noteworthy that not more than a half-dozen definite floor surfaces were encountered in all our work. Even pits dug in hut circles often failed to locate the floor levels. This may mean that the same spots were seldom occupied by houses for long periods of time or it may simply indicate that the débris of the shellmounds packs little and that the floor stratum does not become appreciably harder than the normal refuse.

¹¹ Kroeber, Handbook, 560-562, 698-702; Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthr. Pap., 20:147-183, 1922.

One hut circle was completely excavated. The house was circular, 16 feet 8 inches in diameter, the floor rising a bit near the walls. The entire structure was evidently a hemisphere. The frame was of poles which were supported by 4 or 5 posts near the center. The door was formed by 2 whale ribs so placed as to form an arch. The roof was thatched with surf grass laid 2 or 3 inches thick. The fireplace was a slight depression at the center flanked by a rough circle of cobbles and flat stones. We can infer a smoke-hole at the crest of the dome. The entire floor was covered with a layer of clean beach sand. The door was to the north, in this instance the land and leeward side.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the foregoing pages I have tried to indicate the evidences of culture changes from the early to the late periods. The culture of the region was already somewhat specialized during the earliest times of which we have information. This is indicated by the use of asphaltum and steatite. The capture of sea mammals and the gathering of shellfish indicate a culture already more or less maritime in its outlook. The mortar and pestle are gradually substituted for the metate and muller at what is perhaps the middle period. We can suppose that about this time the islands were populated. A little later the charm-stone passed out of vogue and the circular shell hook was developed. Bone and whale-tooth pendants, often decorated with designs in dot depressions filled with black or red paint, seem to be a special development and are limited to the earlier Island culture. Perforated stones are of very rare occurrence in Mainland sites but are common enough in both early and late Island sites. Fishhooks of both types are much more numerous in Island sites—an indication that the Island culture was more maritime in nature than that of the Mainland. This inference is borne out by the lower frequency of mortars and pestles.

The changes in culture which the materials indicate are rather minor in nature and for the most part gradual. There are no indications of sudden or major shifts in pattern of culture. The tribal or linguistic groups may have changed a number of times in the several thousand years probably involved, but if so the newcomers must have taken over the culture of their predecessors substantially *in toto*. The material culture represented throughout gives evidence of no remarkable developments beyond the bare needs for a rather drab existence,

and here, as elsewhere where this is true, there is long adherence to primitive uniformity in the few objects needed to secure a livelihood.

The stable character of the culture, the few new developments, and the regional differences are diagrammatically represented in figure 3. Relative frequencies are based on tables 3 and 5.

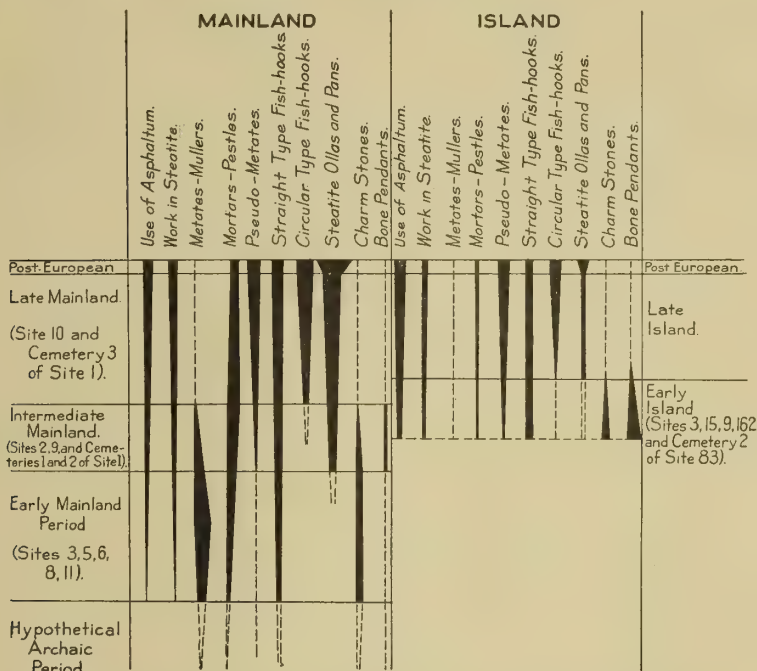


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of prehistoric cultural changes, Chumash area.

Possible Oceanic affiliations.—Southern California exhibits a number of traits in both material and social culture which have provided cause for the suspicion of Oceanic influences. But until some bit of definite evidence comes to light the safest attitude is one of cautious acceptance of the possibility of such affiliation. Our investigations yielded no such definite evidence. The late appearance of the circular shell hook, the perforated stone (which is a faint reminder of the club heads of Oceania), and, by inference, the plank canoe—all reminiscent of Oceanic culture—provide little grist for the mill of those who believe in these historical contacts. On the other hand, Oceanic provenience is not ruled out by any hoary antiquity for these artifacts, which are all relatively recent.

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TEXTILE PERIODS IN ANCIENT PERU

BY

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TEXTILE PERIODS IN ANCIENT PERU

BY

LILA M. O'NEALE AND A. L. KROEBER

METHOD AND MATERIAL

In 1927 the authors undertook an investigation of prehistoric textiles from the coast region of Peru. One of them contributed knowledge of textile technology, the other field experience in Peruvian archaeology. Crawford's monographs, *Peruvian Textiles and Peruvian Fabrics*,¹ were taken as a basis, and proved thoroughly satisfactory. In general, his terminology has been retained, with a number of amplifications that were found necessary.² Crawford's work however treats ancient Peru as a unit, without reference to differences of district or period, and the present study was planned to consider these aspects.

A beginning was made with the Max Uhle collections from Ica and Nazca in the University of California Museum of Anthropology. Dr. Berthold Laufer kindly made available the collections secured by Kroeber for Field Museum of Natural History from Nazca and the earlier ones from Cerro del Oro in Cañete and Aramburú near Lima. For comparison there were examined also two collections from Ancon and Chancay presented to the University by Charlotte Uhle and previously classified by Agnes Nelson of the Department of Household Art; one from Chíncha assembled by Max Uhle, the analysis of which had been begun by Ruby Harstine; and smaller lots secured by Uhle at Nievería near Lima and at Puerto de Supe. From these collections over 650 pieces were studied. The original intention was to describe in detail and according to a unified system the entire Peruvian textile collections of the University, with related material available in other institutions; but as something over a thousand additional specimens remain in the University Museum alone, it appears wisest to summarize the results obtained to date, rather than defer conclusions indefinitely in the hope that the fuller material may in time be worked over.

¹ *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthr. Pap.*, 12:53-104, 1915; 12:105-191, 1916.

² Certain definitions appear in the appended Glossary; the full list is reserved for a monograph on Peruvian textiles.

The 650-odd analytic descriptions of individual fabrics have been summarized, as regards the textile processes involved, in a tabulation indicating the various spinning, weaving, finishing, and superstructural techniques occurring in each piece. Even this summary proving too long for the present preliminary report, it has been further condensed into a table showing the frequency of occurrence of the more important processes and devices in each culture—that is, in the examined textiles dating from a certain period in a certain valley. This table, which is basic to all the briefer tables in the body of the text, will be found at the end of the paper.

The lots examined classify as follows:

Nazca valley: various sites, Field, by Kroeber from excavations in 1926, 186 pieces, assignable to periods by the pottery associated in the graves, as follows: Early Nazca, 113; Epigonal including Nazca Y, 9; Late Ica and Inca, 64.

Nazca valley: various sites, Field, by Kroeber from surface in 1925 and 1926, or from excavations in graves without pottery, 24 pieces, tentatively assignable to periods as follows: *Epigonal (and Y), 21; *Late Ica and Inca, 3.

Nazca valley: various sites, California, M. Uhle by purchase or surface gathering, 60 pieces. These have been tentatively classified as to period by their stylistic similarities to the excavated specimens in the first group, as follows: *Early Nazca, 4; *Epigonal (and Y), 27; *Late Ica and Inca, 29.

Ica valley: California, M. Uhle by excavation, definitely assignable to periods by the associated pottery,³ 116 pieces, as follows: Early Nazca, site F, 6, *site H, 2, *site A, 5, total 13; Epigonal, site E, 8; Middle Ica, site M, 31, site C1, 1, site Z, graves 1, 4, 5, 6, 21, total 53; Late Ica and Inca, sites D, T, X, Y, 42.

Pisco valley: Field, Kroeber, by purchase, *7 fragments from one of the sites subsequently excavated by Tello at Paracas, period approximately Early Nazca.

Chincha valley: California, M. Uhle by excavations at sites A, D, E, F,⁴ Late or Inca, 75; site D, "Early" Chincha, *Epigonal (not included in basic table), 2.

Cañete valley: Cerro del Oro, Field, Kroeber by excavations in 1925, Early (or Middle?) Cañete, probably later than Early Nazca, 14; Late (not included in basic table), 3.

³ This series, 21:95-133, 1924. Sites A and H are classed by Kroeber and Strong as (Proto-)Nazcaoid. The 7 textiles from these two sites are somewhat aberrant, and seemingly of Epigonal (Middle) character rather than Early (Proto-)Nazca. The pottery from them, while also aberrant, however has definitely Early Nazca rather than Epigonal leanings. In all tabulations below, these 7 textiles have been counted as Early.

⁴ This series, 21:1-94, 1924. The authors, while not wholly committal, lean toward construing Early Chincha as of Early (Proto-)Nazca period. The two textiles are definitely Middle (Epigonal) in character. Since the pottery fragments—mostly incised—are not decisive, it has seemed best to classify the culture, on the basis of these textiles, as Middle in all the tabulations below.

Lima valley: California, M. Uhle, from Nievería,⁵ Early Lima, 6; from Aramburú, Field, Kroeber by excavations in 1925, Early Lima, 14.

Ancon: California, C. Uhle, probably mainly *Late or Inca, 27.

Chancay valley: California, C. Uhle, mostly from site A, and therefore mainly *Late,⁶ 18.

Supe valley: California, M. Uhle by excavation at Puerto de Supe,⁷ period of "primitive" fishing culture, 16.

Moche (Trujillo or Santa Catalina) valley: California, M. Uhle by excavation, Middle period, Tiahuanacoid, from Moche, site A, 10; Late Chimú, from Chanchan, 7, from Moche, *site H, 75, total 82.⁸

Total, 660, of which 447 of known and *213 of attributed period;⁹ 167 Early, 150 Middle, 343 Late.

The range involved thus is the coast of Peru from about 300 miles north of Lima to about 250 miles south; the time, the whole of Peruvian prehistory yet known, from Early Nazca and the "primitive" fishing period of the central coast to Inca. No highland material was available.

The chronological concordance of periods in the several valleys is not so certain as the sequence of those in the same valley, but their probable approximate correspondence is indicated in the following table, which is based primarily on pottery, secondarily on building construction, head deformation, and other culture traits. Tello would probably put Paracas, Uhle, Primitive Supe and Early Lima, somewhat earlier than here given; Kroeber is somewhat in doubt about the temporal placing of Early Cañete. The textile material whose time position is least certain is indicated in the table by broken lines.

The results to date indicate the following inferences: 1, certain habit persistences characterize regions; 2, changes according to period manifest themselves in style rather than technology, or in the preference given to certain techniques rather than in new invention; 3, the fundamental technologies and control of the art were already established at the beginning of the discovered record. The last point is perhaps of most general interest and may be considered first.

⁵ This series, 21:305-329, 1927. ⁶ This series, 21:266, 1926.

⁷ This series, 21:235-264, 1925 (especially pp. 254, 261).

⁸ This series, 21:191-234, 1925. Moche, site H, which is the summit of the Cerro Blanco at the back of the Huaca de la Luna, appears to have yielded almost no pottery, the specimens in the University consisting only of a few sherds. Some of these are not determinable and some may be Early, but others are certainly Late Chimú. As the general character of the textiles resembles that of textiles known to be Late, the Moche H lot has therefore been counted as Late. Although it is possible that offerings were already being deposited at this site in Early or Middle times, it is less likely that these would be preserved.

⁹ The asterisk is used throughout to designate pieces, lots, or numbers whose age is not determined by pottery associated in the same graves.

TRAITS COMMON TO ALL PERIODS

First of all, both cotton and wool yarns are used in all periods. The collection from Cahuachi in Nazca, for instance, which was excavated by Kroeber, and is placed by him in A, that is, the first of the Early Nazca periods, comprises 25 pieces wholly of cotton, 31 of wool, 28 of both fibers. For Early Nazca in general, exclusive of this Cahuachi lot, the proportion of wool is somewhat lower, the ratio being 14: 7: 8. For Early Lima from Aramburú and Nievería it is 8: 8: 4, for Early Cañete 8: 5: 1; these are also excavated, unselected collections. Even the "Primitive" lot from Puerto de Supe runs 13: 2: 1 in spite of being the deposit of a poor fishing population. In fact, next to it, the highest proportion of all-cotton yarn fabrics is shown by the Late Chíncha and Late Chimu lots. The totals and proportions according to period and valley are as per table 2 (p. 28).¹⁰

It will be seen that the percentage of pieces containing only wool yarns is actually highest in the Early, and that for all-cotton fabrics in the Late period. The Middle period has the highest frequency of combination of wool yarn and cotton yarn in the same fabric, due partly to the predilection for tapestries. Other factors that have probably caused variation between lots are economic status as in Primitive Supe, preselection of the collection as in Late Ancon, and definite specialization of art in the case of Late Chíncha and Chimu. All in all, however, it is clear that both cotton and wool were employed side by side and in nearly equal frequency in all periods.

The free use of wool from the earliest period represented in the remains means that the textile art was then already an elaborate one, and that trade between coast and interior was regular. The first point is almost self-evident: figured tapestries, elaborate embroideries, knitting, brocades other than their basic web, may theoretically be possible in cotton, but actually they occur, the world over, almost exclusively in wool or silk. As to the second point, the llama and alpaca do not occur on the coast today, except as flocks of the former are transiently driven down with loads, and probably were not kept in numbers

¹⁰ Caution is necessary in such a classification. Many webs are incomplete. In the case of a border fragment with cotton warps, wool weft, the content is as fully indicated as if the piece were whole; whereas a preserved fragment of the all-cotton material to which such a border was a finish would tell only half the story.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONCORDANCE OF PERIODS

TABLE 1

VALLEYS		PERIODS			
				Inca horizon	
				Beginning of Late period	
				End of Tiahuanaco-Epigonol horizon	
				Beginning of Tiahuanaco-Epigonol horizon	
				Earliest known Pre-Tiahuanaco cultures	
				Early Nazca	Nazca
				Y, Epig.	
				Late Ica	Ica
				Early N.	
				Nazcoid	
				Epig.	
				Mid. Ica	
				Late Ica	
				Paracas	Pisco
				Early Ch.	Chincha
				Late Chincha	
				Late Cañete	Cañete
				Early Cañete	
				Late Cañete	
				Early Lima	Lima
				Late Ancon	Ancon
				Late Chancay	Chancay
				Late Chancay	
				Primitive	Supe
				Tiahuanacoid	Moche
				Late Chimu	

TABLE 2

FABRICS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO YARN MATERIALS

	Totals	Cotton yarns only	Wool yarns only	Both C. and W. yarns	Per cent Cotton only	Per cent Wool only	Per cent C.+W.
Late Chimú, Chanchan.....	7	2	0	5	29	0	71
*Late Chimú, Moche.....	75	53	11	11	71	15	15
*Late Chancay.....	18	8	2	8	44	11	44
*Late Ancon.....	27	5	4	18	18	15	66
Late Chíncha.....	75	49	2	24	65	3	32
Late Ica, Ica.....	42	18	6	18	43	14	43
Late Ica, Nazca.....	64	16	29	19	20	41	39
*Late Ica, Nazca.....	32	3	10	19			
Tiahuanacoid, Moche.....	10	3	0	7	30	0	70
"Early" Lima, Nievería.....	6	0	4	2	0	67	33
"Early" Lima, Aramburú....	14	8	4	2	57	29	14
Middle Ica.....	53	11	5	37	21	9	70
Epigonal, Ica.....	8	1	1	6	12	12	75
Y and Epigonal, Nazca.....	9	5	3	1	23	42	35
*Y and Epigonal, Nazca.....	48	8	21	19			
Primitive Supe.....	16	13	2	1	81	12	6
**"Early" Cañete.....	14	8	5	1	57	36	7
*Early Paracas.....	7	2	1	4	29	14	57
Early Nazca, Ica.....	6	1	5	0	17	83	0
*Early Nazca, Ica.....	7	4	3	0	57	43	0
Early Nazca, Nazca.....	113	39	38	36	34	34	32
*Early Nazca, Nazca.....	4	1	2	1			
Total Late.....	340 ¹¹	154	64	122	45	19	36
Total Middle.....	148 ¹¹	36	38	74	24	26	50
Total Early.....	167	68	56	43	41	33	26
	655	258	158	239			

* = Attributed periods.

¹¹ Three Late Cañete and two "Early" (*Epigonal) Chíncha pieces have been omitted from this and the following comparative tabulations. Their addition would bring the Late and Middle totals up to 343 and 150, as in the previous listing.

anciently.¹² The abundance of wool in the early coast cultures means, therefore, that this staple was consistently brought down from the Andes in quantity, or that the fabrics containing it were made in the mountains. That the former was the usual procedure is indicated by Uhle specimen *8846, carded and dyed but unspun wool rovings, from Soisongo, probably of Epigonal period. Moreover, the Paracas specimens (pl. 9a, b, c) are embroidered in designs typical of Early Nazca pottery designs, in fact proceeding in curves which are evidently taken over from ceramic painting, not evolved in cloth.¹³ Early Nazca was a coastal valley culture, and has not been reported from the highland. Import of wool from the highland was therefore current in the early era of localized cultures.

Another trait marking the essential unity of the textile art in all discovered periods is the loom. There appears to be no direct evidence that a large-size frame loom was used in Peru before Spanish times. The looms found and described are all of the type attached to the weaver's belt, or small set-ups for special purposes. The indirect evidence of the fabrics indicates the same. These almost always fall below 30 inches or 75 cm. in width. Of the 650 pieces examined, only 15 were woven wider than this in a single set-up; these measure 32½ to 47½ inches.¹⁴ Garments of greater breadth are often sewn together from pieces woven not over 30 inches wide. Some specimens, measuring 51 to 64 inches, are unsewn; but examination shows that these consist of loom-joined strips, one woven first, the second or several others

¹² None of the four tame or wild species of Andean camel, in fact, thrives in the coast region, though the reason is not clear. The "climate" or air pressure is said to make them die soon in most cases. Diet seems a more likely cause.

¹³ No embroideries with designs approximating those of Early Nazca pottery as closely as these fragments from Paracas were found by Kroeber in his excavations at Cahuachi or elsewhere in Nazca. The splendid embroideries described by Seler (*Gesamm. Abh.*, 4:285, 288, 293, 298) and Crawford (130, 132-134, 1916) which are very similar to Early Nazca pottery designs, are attributed to Nazca and Ica, respectively. But these are pieces acquired through purchase, not excavations, and therefore really of unknown provenience; and Tello, in tracing the known fine "Nazca" textiles, came to the conclusion that their provenience could all be traced back to Paracas. His own excavations there yielded fabrics of the identical style (*Internat. Congr. Americanists*, 1926, 22:681-683, 1928). However, some of Kroeber's Cahuachi Nazca specimens approximate the Paracas one in elaborateness and curvilinear freedom of design motives: such are 171140 (fig. 2), 171180d, 171266b.

¹⁴ The 4 specimens above 40 inches in width, Field Museum nos. 171182a, 171216 (fig. 6), 171218a (pl. 1), 171222 (fig. 5), are all from Cahuachi, Early Nazca A, at the very beginning of the time scale dealt with. The 11 others, between 30 and 40 inches wide, are Cahuachi 171219a, 171265, 171305b, 171306; Early Nazca from Majoro, Nazca, 170465a; Early Cañete 169848; Epigonal Nazca 170624, 170625; Late Nazca 171359a; Late Ica 4228; Late Chimú from Moche *2261.

subsequently woven edge to edge against the previously completed web¹⁵—a procedure that would certainly not have been followed by any one acquainted with a large-frame loom. This simplicity of the basic machinery for weaving would be expectable in an early period. Since it seems to have persisted through Inca times, fundamental progress evidently did not occur. To put it differently, the earliest known textile art of Peru was essentially as developed as any later one: the formative stages have not yet been discovered.

The same holds for techniques. Nearly all the fundamental weaves of Peruvian fabrics appear in Early Nazca: kelim, interlocking, and eccentric tapestry, pattern weave (of three types), weft scaffolding, twine-plaiting or lace, probably brocade;¹⁶ even wrapped weave and double cloth can be included, though they each occur only once and

¹⁵ Loom joining, so far as discovered, is of two main varieties. The first involves an extra length of yarn independent of the weaving elements. Each time a new pick of weft crosses the new set-up of warps it interlocks with this yarn which has already been put through a weft loop on the old web with a needle. The two widths are thus drawn closely together and give the appearance of a single breadth. Unlike a seaming stitch, the additional yarn alternately engages individual turns of weft on the adjoining outside warps. Thus, in a fine crêpe shawl (Cahuachi Nazca 171224) with a count of 40 weft, there are 20 points of joining per inch; in a fragment of white cotton (Moche *2273f) with 46 weft, there are 23 points per inch. Obviously the count within each width is identical inch for inch. Cahuachi 171262 (pl. 5) is similarly joined of two webs.

The second type of loom join is dependent upon weft manipulation. In some fine tapestries the wefting for an irregular distance away from the edge must have been done with a needle supplementary to the regular weaving implement. A shuttle could not possibly be inserted between tapestry weft averaging 52 to the inch, as in Epigonal Nazca *9052 (pl. 13). In this specimen each pick is made to pass between two turns of weft on the outside warp of a previously completed web. The remaining pieces of this type are coarser, and commonly 2 to 3 picks of the new weft alternate with a similar group left unseparated on the edge warp of the first woven piece. The coarsest example found is "Early" (Epigonal) Chircha *3891. Others are Late *S385, *8541 from Nazca, Middle Ica 4588 (pls. 22b, 29, 32a). In all these the joined strips are from 16 to 25½ inches wide. An interesting illustration of the free use of such a device is the Late blanket *S385 from Nazca, which consists of 12 plain and 12 patterned strips, any or all of which might have been separate set-ups adjacent to completed portions. As a matter of fact, two of the twenty-four were made on a single set-up. The other strips contain evidences of having been done individually.

¹⁶ The difficulty in distinguishing between brocades and embroidery has been recognized by Crawford (p. 125 ff., 1916). With an open-mesh material such as forms the webs of Early Nazca 171218a (pl. 1), 171219a, 171220, and especially with one portion of each of these seemingly embroidered, it is probable that all was stitchery. To find a decorative yarn crossing a basic weft, or a knot at the end of a thread, would constitute proof. This is rare. Primitive workers are no more inclined to confess to lack of skill than are modern ones. Failing such evidence, we have arbitrarily classed as brocades those fabrics in which geometric designs are built up by alternating a pick of decorative yarn with a pick of basic weft.

with special technical features which set them off.¹⁷ To be sure, the extent and purpose of the use of many of these techniques is quite different. Typical Early Nazca elaborate figures are embroidered, those of later periods tapestried; but tapestry crops up in Early Nazca: sometimes monochrome, sometimes in pattern, now in a ribbon or band, next in a garment, then in a sling. The process was perfectly well known, even though not nearly so common as later. Similarly with the other basic weaves, and with braiding, embroidery, knit-work, yarn-crêping, and most processes. Some of these had their principal vogue early, some late; but generally they occur both early and late.

The same may be said for dyes. Each culture, local or temporal, favored certain colors or combinations, but the total range and excellence of dyes was about the same early and late. Early Nazca, Epigonal, Middle, and Late Ica all use admirable colors, though experience comes to recognize these as typically differentiated according to period.

STYLISTIC VARIATIONS OF PERIODS

While the capacities of the ancient Peruvian textile art remained nearly constant, period expressed itself in style; and style varied according to the favor accorded this or that technical process, as well as in its decorative patterns and color combinations.

For instance, Early Nazca achieves ornament scarcely at all by tapestry, but essentially by single-yarn techniques, especially embroidery and knitting. It adds a willingness to attempt curvilinear figures, of demons and attired men in embroidery, of birds and men in knitted fringes. Fine pieces can thus usually be distinguished at first glance from later ones, among which elaborate tapestry designs predominate, and embroidery and knitting are reserved for subsidiary or special purposes. The following list is illustrative for tapestry, embroidery, and knitting, although the qualitative difference between the periods is greater than the numerical one, owing to the addition of esthetic emphasis.

¹⁷ Double cloth, normally a two-color fabric, has been found limited almost exclusively to brown and white or red and white. The one Early example (Nazca 170476d) is a typical warp-stripe set-up of the period, four colors repeated across the width. Color change is thus effected not only by the interplay of surface and reverse colors characteristic of the weave, but in addition by the color variation within each as modified by the stripe set-up. The single Early wrapped weave is a sling, Nazca 171314. Customarily, slings employing wrapped weave use this for the decorative portion only, between the center and the heavy braided ends. This specimen has a kelim tapestry center, which is unique in itself, and wrapped weave for the remaining 56 inches on each side.

Early embroidery differs radically from Middle and Late. Early normally covers large surfaces (Paracas 170095, 170096, 170102, pl. 9; Nazca 171140, fig. 2). Middle and Late have edges or lines of needlework required by the structure of the article, made into additional

TABLE 3
PERIOD VARIATION IN TECHNIQUE TYPE

	Pieces	Tap- estry ¹⁸	Em- broider	Knit- ting	Per cent tap- estry	Per cent em- broider	Per cent knitting
Late Chimu, Chanchan.....	7	5	0	0	71	0	0
*Late Chimu, Moche.....	75	17	16	0	23	21	0
*Late Chancay.....	18	10	0	0	56	0	0
*Late Ancon.....	27	19	0	1	70	0	4
Late Chinchá.....	75	17	9	1	23	12	1
Late Ica, Ica.....	42	10	4	1	23	10	2
Late Ica, Nazca.....	64	7	14	0	11	22	0
*Late Ica, Nazca.....	32	14	12	1	44	34	3
Tiahuanacoid, Moche.....	10	1	3	0	1	3	0
"Early Lima," Nievería.....	6	3	0	1	5	0	17
"Early Lima," Aramburú....	14	3	0	0	21	0	0
Middle Ica.....	53	31	3	20	58	6	38
Epigonal Ica.....	8	3	1	1	37	12	12
Y and Epigonal, Nazca.....	9	4	0	0	44	0	0
*Y and Epigonal, Nazca.....	48	20	6	9	42	13	19
Primitive Supe.....	16	1	1	0	6	6	0
Early Cañete.....	14	1	1	1	7	7	7
Early Paracas.....	7	0	4	4	0	57	57
Early Nazca, Ica.....	6	0	0	1	0	0	12
*Early Nazca, Ica.....	7	1	0	1	20	0	20
Early Nazca, Nazca.....	113	9	24	24	8	21	21
*Early Nazca, Nazca.....	4	0	1	1	0	25	25
Total Late.....	340	99	55	4	29	16	1
Total Middle.....	148	65	13	31	44	9	21
Total Early.....	167	12	31	32	7	19	19

decorative features. Only Late Chimu consistently shows large-area stitchery (*2281a, *2283a), like Early fabrics. A variety of Middle and Late embroidery here called "needleknitting" is merely an embroidery stitch used to finish edges (pl. 33). If this needleknitting is deducted from the cases of embroidery in the table, the Late, Middle, and Early totals become 34: 8: 27 instead of 55: 13: 31, and the corresponding percentage frequencies 10: 5: 16.

¹⁸ Figure-8 weave, technically a tapestry, has not been counted as tapestry for purposes of this table when it is the sole form of tapestry used in a piece, as happens especially in slings.

A few other examples will illustrate the change in trends:

	<i>Pieces</i>	<i>Gauze</i> ¹⁹	<i>Brocade</i>	<i>Pattern weave</i>	<i>Double cloth</i>
Total Late.....	340	10	40	28	9
Total Middle.....	148	2	12	21	10
Total Early.....	167	3	3	12	1

In brocade, pattern weave, and double cloth frequencies, Middle period goes with Late; in gauze, Middle evidently belongs with Early.

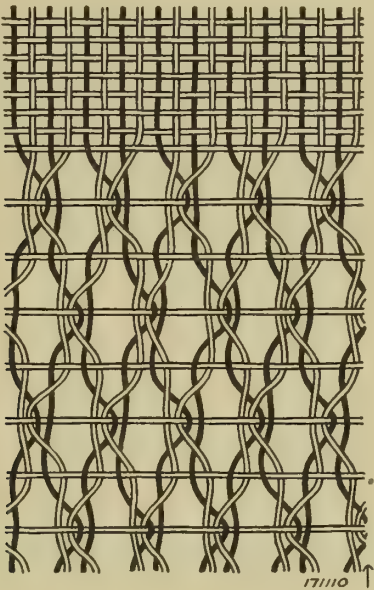


Fig. 1. Early Nazca. Detail to show manipulation of warps in change from plain to gauze weave. Warps customarily return to original position on sixth pick of weft.

Again, for Ica and Nazca valleys only, the frequencies of shape of braid are:

	<i>Total pieces</i>	<i>Braided pieces</i> ²⁰	<i>Square and round</i>	<i>Flat</i>
Late.....	138	50	60	10
Middle.....	65	20	10	11
Early.....	130	11	4	12

¹⁹ Gauze refers to structure, that is, crossed or zigzagging warps (fig. 1), not to the effect of sheerness.

²⁰ Some slings change from round to square braid, so that there are more occurrences of braid than braided objects. A favored square braid is 8-strand; round, 4-strand. Our common 3-strand occurs only 9 times in the 33 cases of flat braid.

Exclusively characteristic of the Early Nazca culture in Nazca and Ica valleys, so far as data in hand go, is three-dimensional knitting (pl. 3). Tie-dyeing has not yet been found in this culture and of double cloth there is only the one aberrant example mentioned.

Epigonal, in the same area, is characterized especially by twine-plaiting lace (pl. 17f) which carries over from Early Nazca (pl. 7a) but has not been found subsequently. Embroidery has become rarer in Epigonal; ambitious and very fine tapestries are being made (pls. 12, 13, 14, 15b, c).

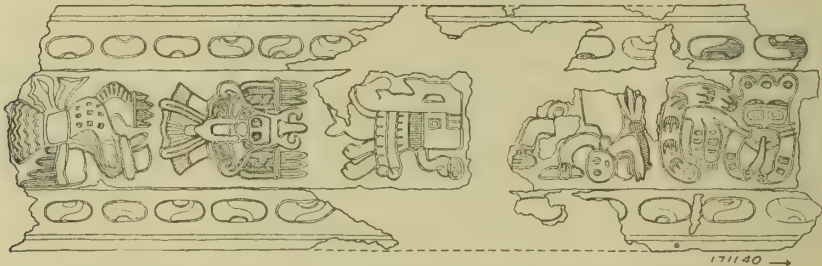


Fig. 2. Early Nazca. Embroidered motives after the manner of pottery designs.

Middle Ica specializes in tapestry (pl. 23a), especially over grouped warps and with interlocking and underfloat weft. Knitting is still, or again, very frequent; so is double cloth (pl. 24b); and wrapped weave, practically absent before, comes in.



Fig. 3. Early Nazca. Band with solidly embroidered ground and motives. Dotted lines indicate reconstructions.

Late Ica carries on the tapestry of the preceding with greater variety of devices and less extreme specialization on underfloat weft. Figure-8 wefting is common, but as this occurs in slings rather than in fabrics, it perhaps constitutes tapestry only in a technical sense. Wrapped weave, which begins to be fairly frequent in Middle Ica, becomes common in Late and occurs with multiple as well as single weft. Counterpairing of weft in wrapped weaves (pl. 30a), and facing of one weft with a second in pendant bags and slings, are exclusive traits of Late Ica, so far as the present data go. Other characteristic features are applied fringes and tassels and padding yarns introduced to give size to sling centers. Knitting has become extremely rare, but round and square braids are abundant.

Outside of Nazca-Ica, the material presents fewer time sequences, so that peculiarities of style are interpretable as due either to regional or temporal influences; yet on the whole the traits accord with those of the corresponding Nazca-Ica periods. For instance, Tiahuanacoid Chimu and Early (Middle) Lima can be equated roughly with Epigonal Nazca-Ica in time; and like it they show a preponderance of tapestries, the decay of embroidery, a persistence of knitting, and flat braid.

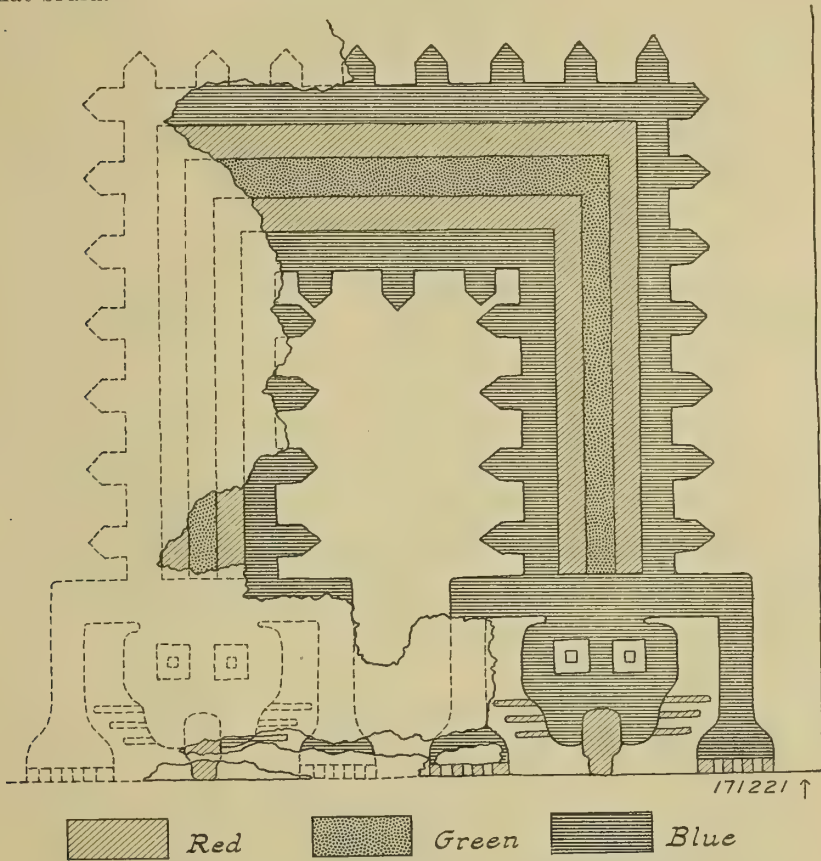


Fig. 4. Early Nazca. Double-headed monster at corners of thin cotton shawl. Plain weave; weft interlocking for color change.

Late Chimu, Chancay, Ancon, and Chincha agree on the whole with Late Nazca-Ica. Underfloat tapestry, for instance, is scarce, as in Late Ica, though extremely abundant in Middle Ica. Common in Late material generally are warp-locking tapestry, gauze, and brocade, especially single-faced. Slack-spun yarn has been found only in Late specimens, and crêped yarn, although as old as Early Nazca, is most frequent in Late material.

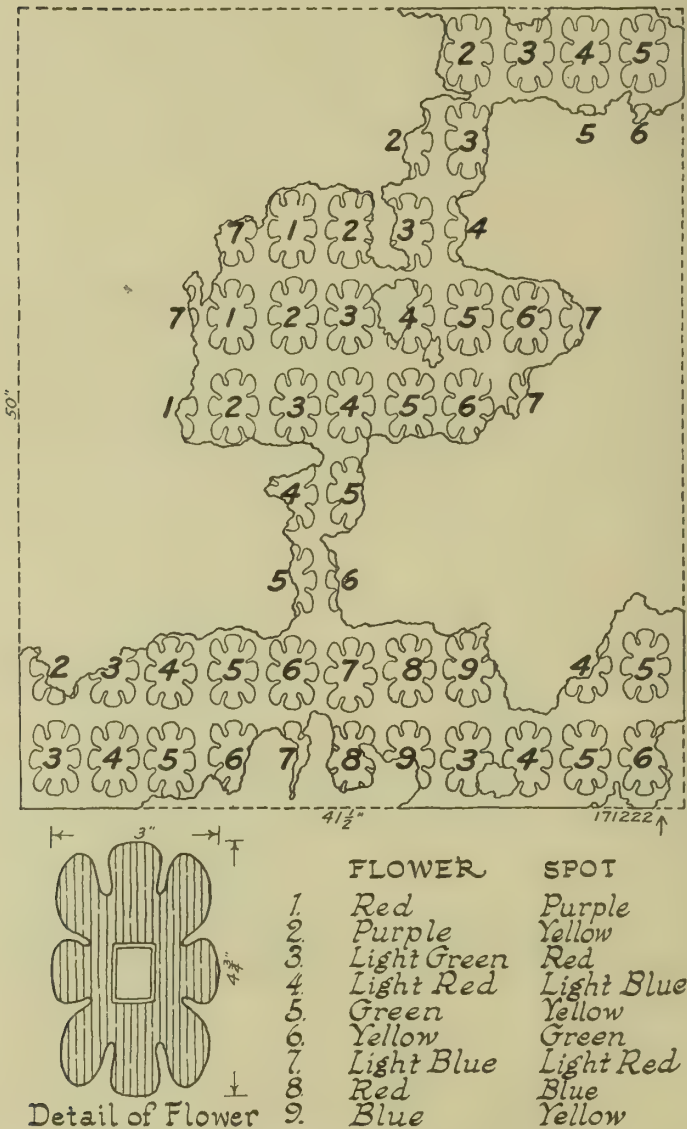


Fig. 5. Early Nazca. Sketch of fragment to show maintained sequence of color combinations. Full size indicated by portions of intact selvages; single set-up of warps.

Design in Early Styles

The embroidered and knitted textiles of Early Nazca (pls. 1-8) are developed in an unusual range of clear bright colors. Allowance for variations, possible through exposure, still leaves occurrences of two or three values of some colors in the same piece, sufficient to prove that variety was an acceptable as well as an accomplished fact. Where the potter of the period confined himself to 5, 6, 7, or 8 colors, the textile worker divided corresponding motives into minute areas occasioning from 7 to 13 colors (fig. 5). Of these, the greater number fall under the descriptive terms: reds, greens, blues, browns, from light to dark. Comparatively little purple is found, the white is a deep cream, the black more often bluish or brownish than true in color.

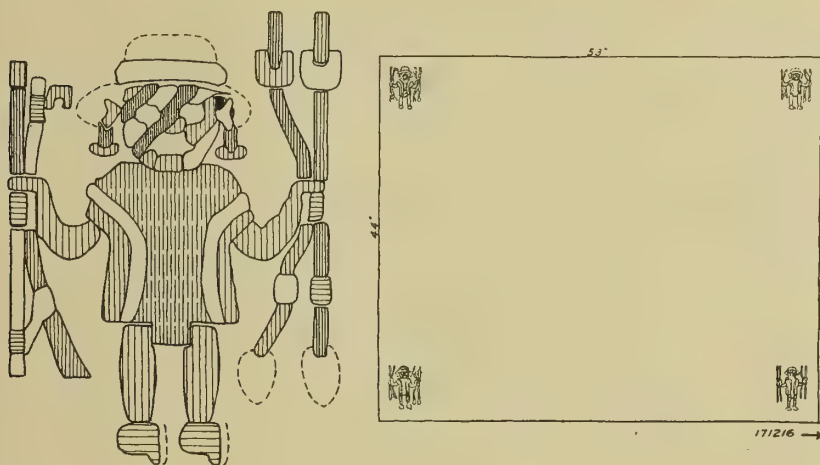


Fig. 6. Early Nazca. Embroidered wool motive from corner of cotton shawl. Use of running stitch makes fabric reversible. Dotted lines indicate reconstruction.

Fine Paracas embroideries have the monsters, trophy-heads, cat-demons of Nazca pottery substantially unchanged. They appear in solidly worked grounds of black, yellow, red, blue, the whole giving the effect of an appliqué on fine cloth foundation. Cahuachi Nazca examples are inferior to Paracas in quality of workmanship (figs. 2, 3, 5, 6). They use the same type of subject, however, and show the same consideration for details into which the unit can be broken up (fig. 2). A characteristic of the band decorations from both sites is the inversion of alternate repeated motives along the length of design (pl. 9).

While curvilinear figures are the rule, there are a few cases in which attempt is made to represent geometric forms. A Cahuachi Nazca poncho (pl. 2c) has an area of solidly embroidered squares front and back of the shoulder line in addition to a band of flower forms at the armhole. Nazca *9120 is a square kerchief with allover design of crosses and rectangles worked solidly in rows of outline stitch.

Three-dimensional knitted fringes are the customary decorative finish for sheer crêpe shawls from Cahuachi sites. Presumably the fragmentary fringes from other Nazca and Ica sites (pl. 3a) served the same purpose. Definite stylizing seems to have been achieved with regard to subject, size, arrangement, and color. The motives are without exception birds or flowers or a combination of the two; sizes vary from half-inch to inch-high birds on a narrow "perch"; arrangement implies a choice between a row of open flowers or plants each with a bird's bill inserted in it, or a row of birds facing in one direction.

Opposite symmetrical representation, familiar in Eastern textile designs, while rare, is not unknown to knitting (171112), weaving (171226), and embroidery (171225) of the Early period.

Evidence of the influence of one textile technique on others is clear in the adaptations of Early Nazca bird-flower elements. Three examples from the woven-band finishes for shawls may be cited. Superficial similarity of these shawls, which came from the same grave at Cahuachi, ends with red as dominant color and a patterned center stripe.

One (171224) has a knitted center corresponding to a "perch" incorporated as an integral part of the band. The knitting was done over weft which crossed a one-quarter-inch space between two independent set-ups of warps. Tail feathers are represented on the center by bars of color; heads and bodies rise from its surface.

The second woven band (171225) embroiders the bird-flower motive in tapestry technique over exposed weft crossing between warp set-ups. Following the conventional trend toward variety in coloring, there are thirteen distinguishable hues or values of hues in the last specimen and fourteen in the present example.

A third band (pl. 2a, b) lies strictly within the class of woven fabrics, but has the same decorative center stripe, dominant color, and motive, this time done in single-face pattern weave with warp floats. In contrast to the knitted and embroidered prototypes, four colors (two reds, black, and green) suffice to carry out the design where the others have more than a dozen.

A special type of three-dimensional knitting, closely akin in effect to painting and wood carving, is represented by small human faces, showing on surface and reverse sides (171115, 171180b, 171321). A

more complicated design of the same order (fig. 7) is a knitted veneer on a separately woven trim for a neck opening, with human figures about an inch in length and from four to six colors in each. As in embroidery, geometric designs seem to have been rarely used as knit-

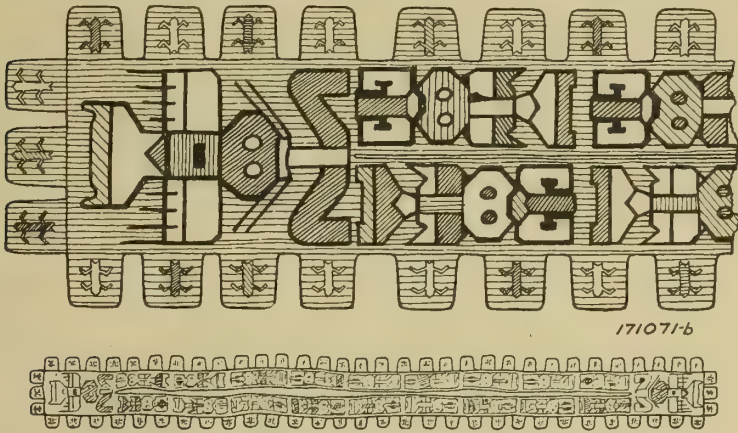


Fig. 7. Early Nazca. Knitted veneer completely covering surface side of plain-weave facing for poncho neck opening.

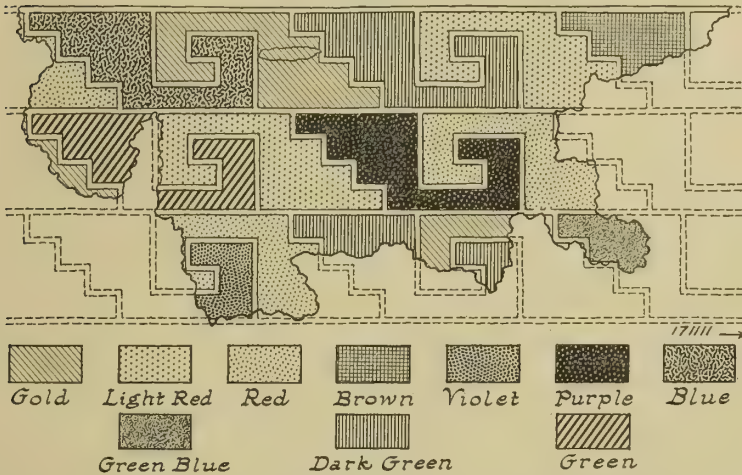


Fig. 8. Early Nazca. Interlocking plain weave fabric showing characteristic step-fret motive. All borders white. Dotted lines indicate reconstruction.

ting motives, but there is an example of a fret or reversed L adapted to the width of a band (171117). The piece is fragmentary but of the type found on edges as decorative finish.

An early type of fabric unique in coloring and construction resembles in its appearance a multicolored patchwork. The motives are purely geometric: reciprocal stepped frets within horizontal zones

(pl. 6*a*; fig. 8), or stepped crosses edged by bands and borders of smaller crosses (170322). As may be seen, the opportunities for color change are limited only by the number of small webs forming the whole. As many colors occur as in the later tapestries; in one example, twelve.

While the available range of dyes might have led to lavish color use in all Early textiles, certain ones conform to rigorous color limitation. For instance, those webs to be embroidered are of white cotton; those on which knitted edges are to be applied are prevailingly white (pl. 3*c* is black); the few plain-dyed cotton cloths, mostly reds, are undeco-

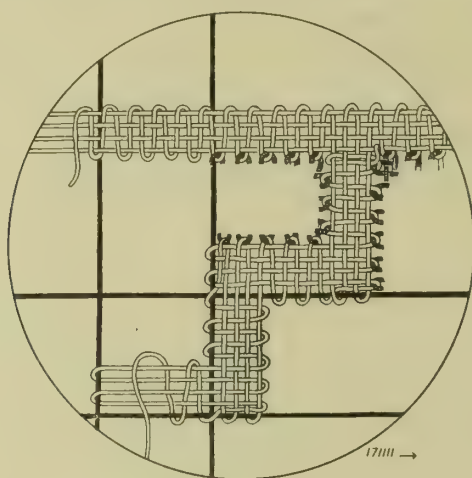


Fig. 9: detail of fig. 8. Early Nazca. Plain weave showing skeleton yarns and interlocking warps and weft. Note continuous yarn forming border which is warp and weft by turns.

rated; striped cottons are brown and white or brown and blue combinations, some adding light pink as a variant to the white yarns.

Wool is of a different class; it suggests richer treatment. A very fine fragment of a wool shawl (170665) has warp stripes of red-purple, tan interchanging with orange, green-blue, rose, each two separated by a bright red, the whole series of 5 colors repeated as a unit in regular sequence of widths.

Two warp-striped wool shawls (*171262, pl. 5, 171265) in red, rose, and black are edged with a complicated narrow fringe down the two sides, extending around the corners to end or to be met by a less elaborate finish which fills out the space at top and bottom. A small wool kerchief (pl. 8*b*) is striped and edged in the same manner. It is

possible that knitted fringes may have extended only partly across the top and lower edges, but no piece has been found to make this more than speculation.

The Early Cañete (pl. 11) culture has the multicolored geometric patchworks of Early Nazca, but neither its knitted birds and flowers nor its elaborate embroideries. Only part of the collection obtained by Kroeber from this culture at Cerro del Oro was available for the present study, the remainder, including most of the decorated specimens, having been rendered temporarily inaccessible for analytic study by being on exhibition.

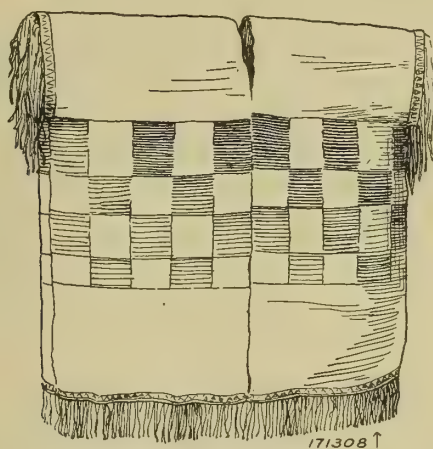


Fig. 10. Early Nazca. Shirt blocked off in solid brown and white rectangles by means of skeleton yarns and interlocking plain weave. Kelim tapestry edge bands.

The Primitive or Early Supe shellmound or fishing culture is represented by too few decorated specimens to make discussion of its design worth while. If the pieces preserved are representative, the textiles were as meager ornamentally as the unpainted pottery of this culture.

No textile positively identifiable as Early Chimú seems to be recorded anywhere. The Uhle collection from the Huaca de la Luna at Moche, which comprises more than 600 pottery vessels, besides metal and stone objects, does not include even one fragment of cloth. Preservation conditions are less favorable in northern Peru than elsewhere on the coast; rains, though rare, do occur. It is highly desirable that future excavations preserve even scant textile remnants if these appear in indubitable Early Chimú tombs.

Design in Middle Styles

In the Middle periods a distinction must be made between earlier culture phases such as Epigonal Nazca and Ica (pls. 12-21) whose pottery shows a marked highland or specific Tiahuanaco influence, and later ones, such as Middle Ica (pls. 23, 24), in which these influences are diminishing and the pottery designs are trending toward those of Late Ica or other immediately pre-Inca styles. "Early" Chincha (pl. 22), "Early" Lima (pls. 25-27), and Tiahuanacoid Chimu (figs. 12, 13) textiles affiliate more with Epigonal Ica than with Middle Ica.

Motives common to Nazca-Ica Epigonal fabrics are simple geometric forms with stepped or plain outlines, an elaborated S-shape, reciprocal hooks, double latch-hooks, the puma entire, or its claw, eyespot, mouth detail used independently, and human figures with staves of exaggerated size. The outstanding colors are definite red and yellow, sometimes with smaller areas of vivid blue.

Pure Tiahuanaco style is manifest in the border of human heads in a fine Ica tapestry (pl. 12). A Nazca band (pl. 15*a*) has four men carrying staves, arranged lengthwise. This Epigonal motive reappears in Late Ica, Chincha, and Chimu pieces.

A combination of recognized Epigonal elements suggestive of a human figure occurs in Nazca fabrics (pls. 16, 19). The breaking down of realistic representation, as well as the coloring which includes much blue, mark the latter specimen as later than the multicolored Early Nazca and Early Cañete patchwork fabrics which are identical in technique.

One very striking piece attributed to the period is a shirt (pl. 13). The puma of various sizes is the main motive; in addition there are frets and simple geometric motives. Tans and browns are dominant, orange and red appear in noticeable amounts, while small areas of bright rich blue confirm the age.

Middle Ica textiles as well as pottery trend away from the Epigonal semi-realistic toward the angular and repetitive in patterning. This is a period of close-textured brown and white cotton fabrics edged with deep tapestry borders woven on the same warps. The main portion, whether striped (pl. 24*a*) or built up of a series of stepped squares (4369) to form an allover pattern, is a drab sequel to a technique which developed in Early Nazca with a dozen colors.

Other Middle Ica bordered fabrics are double cloths in brown and white cotton exclusively (pl. 24*b*). The simplest of designs is attempted, an allover of rectangles stepped on the diagonal, each half centered with a square spot.

The first impression given by the tapestry border patterns is one of confused, meaningless detail further complicated by colors close in value. Motives, reduced to elements, may be interpreted as frets, birds, or fish forms (pl. 23*a*). Counterpairing, inversion of alternate motives on a vertical axis or on both axes for disposition within an indistinct rectangle, are typical arrangements (fig. 11).

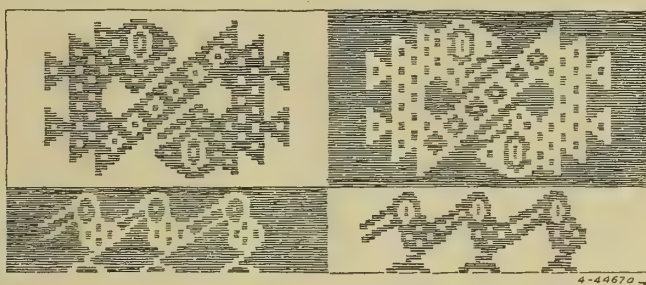


Fig. 11. Epigonal, Ica. Double-face brocade. Characteristic reversal of motive on both vertical and horizontal axes.

Repetition of any one unit is less apparent, however, than the rhythmic occurrence of colors. Rose red, much of it faded to golden brownish, is the almost invariable Middle Ica ground color. Choice is further conventionalized by a limitation of the number of colors to be combined; the average falling between four and seven, with blue a conspicuous addition to weaving yarns.

The Early Lima tapestry and pattern-weave fragments from Nievería and Aramburú are mostly brown-white combinations (pl. 25*a, c*). Designs are of Middle Ica border type, geometric, repetitive. Tapestry of characteristic Epigonal type occurs (pls. 25*a, 27d*).

The textile series from the northern Tiahuanacoid site Moche A is small but exhibits well developed technical skill. Plain weaves with warp-float pattern stripes make up four of the ten pieces. Tapestry of kelim and eccentric types, double cloth, double-faced brocade, constitute most of the others. Yarns are cotton, almost invariably singleply, heavily crêped. Exclusively characteristic of Middle period Chimu culture, so far as may be judged from our data, is the combining of embroidery with a structurally patterned textile. Small

raised dots in figure-8 stitch are needle-worked subsequent to the weaving on the two brocades and one double cloth in the group, and constitute the only cases of embroidery from this site (fig. 12). Both stitch and use are unique. The designs are of general Epigonal type, like the profile human being of figure 13.

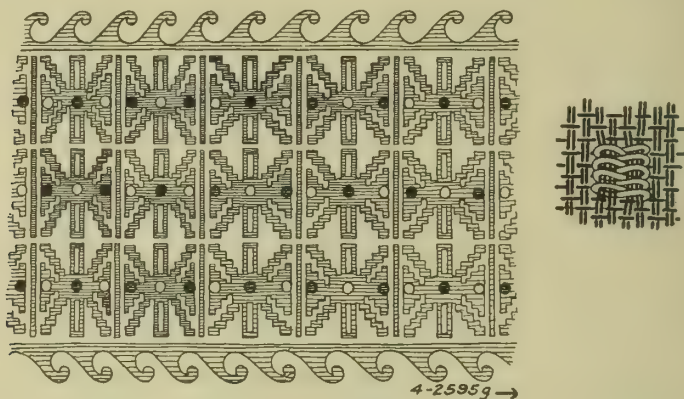


Fig. 12. Tiahuanacoid, Moche. Double-face brocade border design; relief dots in figure-8 embroidery stitch.

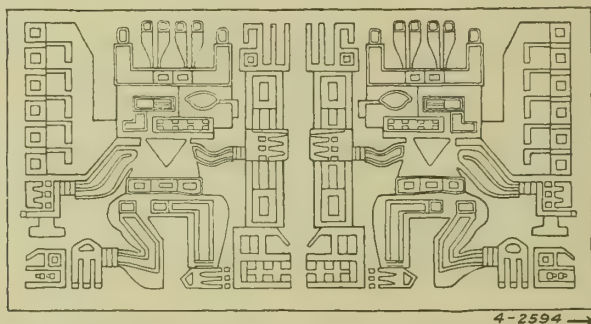


Fig. 13. Tiahuanacoid, Moche. Kelim tapestry motive in pure Tiahuanaco style.

In general, Middle period designs are fairly complex, but appear to be disintegrations from former more realistic trends. Colors are less numerous and less inclined to rich dark tones. Cloths to be bordered are still white or brown, a few dyed in plain colors.

Design in Late Styles

Peruvian textiles of the Late and Inca periods (pls. 28-48) are distinguished more readily by style than by workmanship. Tapestry weaving, though common, had reached its highest degree of quality

in Epigonal times. The three finest pieces examined (pls. 12, 14 from Ica and Nazca) counting 46, 38, 58 2-ply cotton warps and 180, 216, 200 2-ply wool weft per inch, are Epigonal.

Certain design features are shared by all Late textile styles. Conventionalizing of human and animal forms is extended to the point of geometric representation as seen in Nazca checkered llamas, Ica human figures, and Chinchu birds (pls. 29, 40). Motives are fitted, often reciprocally, into horizontal or vertical bands or slanting rows, so that there is definite movement to the design. If the arrangement of itself appears at first glance to be an all-over pattern, sequence of colors may be insistent. An illustration of this is to be found in a shirt from Nazca (171360). Reduced to black and white, the surface would seem crowded with the variety of vertically and horizontally banded design elements. In the actual garment the coloring, complex as it is in detail, forces the attention diagonally across the patterned area. Squares, lozenge shapes, stepped fret forms are no longer sufficient in and of themselves but are become frames for one or many smaller motives. That this was an accepted convention is indicated by the following from many possible examples:

Brocade designs corresponding to those embroidered in the corners of Early Nazca shawls (fig. 6) are enclosed in the Late period by stepped bands (pls. 38, 46). Peculiar to Chinchu is the placing of a stepped square in the center of a shawl in addition to corner decorations. This is an emphatic contrast to the Early shawls with their elaboration of diagonal corners. Late Ica kelim tapestries have rows of stepped frets filled with bird forms (4275a). Small diamond shapes, each enclosing a bird, make diagonal lines in a Late tapestry from Nazca (170948a). A brocade from Ancon is divided into rectangles each filled with a cat form (16-984).

Available materials from Chinchu come under the above characterization with but few exceptions. There are one or two outstanding pieces of brocade type in which motives lack geometric frames. In the largest, a brown shawl (3972a), color sequence gives a forceful unity to an all-over pattern of widely spaced design motives.

In no textile group of equal size has there been found such consistent reliance upon a single design element as at Chinchu. Bird forms appear in tapestry, brocade, and double cloth; they are embroidered and painted. They are used singly, interlocked, or in combination with other animal forms. They vary in size from a half-inch to six inches, and may be wholly geometric, fanciful, or realistic. These last are of the type found on pottery, though diagonally arranged according to the convention in textile patterning.

What is said of Chincha applies more or less to Moche-Chanchan, Chancay, Ancon, Ica, and Nazca textiles. Here again are horizontal rows of birds, llamas, and crosses, rectangles containing six-pointed stars or animal forms. An illustration may be taken from brocade (pl. 31). Each rectangle frames a single form. The ground is one color, body a second, eyespot and body detail a third, feathers and toes a fourth. Five combinations from a range of ten colors form a sequence to be repeated on the sixth diagonal row of rectangles. This repetition of a sequence of three, four, and more colors or combinations, while occurring in all periods (fig. 5), is most typical of the Late textiles, and may be found from double-face pattern weaves to the simplified knitted edge-bindings.

In summary, Late pieces give an impression of motives confined within borders or geometric forms. The patterning is often aggressively diagonal in line emphasized by an insistent sequence of colors. All colors are used, with tans to brown playing large parts as ground colors. Brocades are still white or brown cottons ornamented with wool weft.

STYLISTIC VARIATIONS OF REGION

Regional peculiarities are of two kinds: those occurring in the same period, and those holding for an area through successive periods. The former are more easily brought out by contrast with the common element of the age; the latter are more interesting.²¹

Regional Peculiarities within the Late Period

The tabulation that follows lists the principal textile processes specially characteristic of four districts—in order from north to south: Chimu, Chancay-Ancon, Chincha, Ica-Nazca—together with resemblances common to the first and third of these.

The agreements between Chimu and Chincha in the Late period are striking in view of their geographic separation. Ancon and Chancay lie between them; and Ica-Nazca, on the basis both of distance and pottery resemblances, would expectably prove more similar to Chincha than this to Chimu.

²¹ Peculiarities of the same two kinds occur in pottery: within one period, the difference between Early Nazca and Early Chimu, or Late Ica and Late Chimu; irrespective of period, certain traits persisting through Nazca-Ica (round bottoms; many colors: 8 Early, 3 Late) and through Chimu (flat bottoms; stirrup mouth and whistling jars; few colors: 3 Early, Late mostly solid black).

TABLE 4
REGIONAL PREPONDERANCES OF LATE TECHNIQUES

	Chimu, 82		Chancay-Ancon, 45		Chincha, 75		Nazca-Ica, 138	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<i>Typical of Late Chancay-Ancon</i> ²²								
Tapestry, all types.....	22	27	29	64	17	23	61	44
Monochrome weft stripes.....	3	4	14	31	9	12	5	4
Kelim.....	7	8	18	40	12	16	11	8
Eccentric.....	3	4	13	29	9	12	8	6
Gauze weave.....	....	....	7	15	....	....	3	2
Pattern weave, double face.....	1	1	6	13	4	5	7	5
<i>Typical of Late Chimu</i>								
Fringes—all types.....	36	44	4	9	12	16	12	9
<i>Typical of Late Chincha</i>								
Brocade, both types.....	8	10	3	7	20	27	9	7
Shedding for secondary design in single-face brocade.....	2	2	....	....	10	13	1	1
Warp face, plain weave.....	10	12	2	4	20	27	27	12
Weft grouping for size.....	8	10	4	9	12	16	16	12
Loose battening.....	9	11	....	....	21	28	6	4
Kelim slot for neck openings.....	3	4	....	....	6	8	1	1
<i>Typical of Late Chimu and Chincha</i>								
Plain weaves, all types.....	63	77	19	42	65	87	63	46
Basket weave ²³	4	5	....	....	9	12	....	....
Crêped yarns.....	62	76	14	31	50	67	22	16
Warp doubling, plain weave.....	42	51	2	4	44	59	4	3
<i>Typical of Late Nazca-Ica</i>								
Interlocking tapestry.....	....	....	1	2	....	....	20	14
Figure-8 tapestry.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	31	22
Wrapped weave.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	25	11
Braided pieces.....	1	1	1	2	1	1	47	34
Drawing in for color change in warps.....	1	1	5	11	....	....	22	16
Warp-lock, tapestry.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	9
Weft-lock, tapestry.....	....	....	1	2	2	2	16	12
Padding yarns, slings.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	18	13
"Facing" yarns, slings.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	9	7
Counterpairing, wrapped weave.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	3
Half-hitching.....	1	1	....	....	....	....	7	5
Plaiting element manipulation for color.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	5
"Needleknitting".....	....	....	....	....	3	4	18	13

²² The Chancay and especially the Ancon series appears to be a selected group with preponderance of display pieces and therefore showy technical processes.

²³ With reference to the frequency of basket weave at Chincha, it is probably significant that all the 3 pieces examined from Late Cañete also showed this technique. Cañete is the valley next north of Chincha, and their Late potteries are very similar.

The exceptionally abundant use of cotton in the Chimu and Chinchá areas in Late times has already been mentioned. This predilection is clearly not due to a meagerness of quality of fabrics or lack of interest in them, and probably not to a deficiency of wool supply. It appears to be the result of a specialization and refinement of techniques and devices especially adapted to cotton, as the following facts show:

Fully one-half of the textiles from the Chimu sites are woven of single-ply, crêpe-twist, white cotton yarns used in pairs for warps, doubled if size is required for weft. An adaptation to cotton from an essentially wool technique is illustrated by alternating plain weave and monochrome tapestry bands within the same piece (pl. 46a). This form of patterning, peculiar to Chimu, has its uniqueness further emphasized by the fact that the change to tapestry within the plain-weave fabric involves, instead of a shift to wool, simply the use of two cotton yarns on the bobbin in place of the usual single strand. Crêped yarn lacks softness, pliability; it will not beat up smoothly. Loss of smoothness is in part compensated for, however, by the resultant puffy texture which the tapestry stripes have in contrast with the plain-weave open-mesh ones.

Other than in stripes, Chinchá and Chimu textiles show free use of cotton as a tapestry yarn either alone or with wool. Complete motives are developed in browns and blues unlike most examples from Nazca-Ica sites (pl. 45a, b). Late Ica tapestries, when they include cotton, generally have it in small details such as eyespots or feathers. It may be suspected that a true white was the aim in this use of cotton, since so-called "white" wool is more nearly cream or pale yellow.

Chinchá rivals Chimu in its use of fringes. A typical finish on Chimu crêpe veils and shawls is formed of a tape-like heading, 2 to 8 warps wide, the fringe proper being the extra length of weft which turns about a skeleton warp set an inch distant. Upon completion of the plain weaving, the skeleton warp is withdrawn, leaving tightly twisted weft loops. The simplest 2-warp variety is a customary finish on all four edges (pl. 46a).

Chinchá fringes are more elaborate, constituting an important decoration on sheer fabrics. They may include cross-stripes of color in tapestry technique alternating with monochrome portions, the plainness of which is broken by tiny patterned insets in a repeated sequence of colors (pl. 38).

The type of brocade here termed "single-face" because of its definite surface and reverse sides is common to both Late Chimu and Chinchá (pl. 39, 46b, c). This technique uses finer yarns than double-face and practically all the wool appears on the surface side. Also, single-face brocade uses less wool than the double variety by reason of the light weight or scattered design motives in which it customarily appears.

Single-face brocades, to the practical exclusion of the double-face type, and cotton motives within traditionally wool-weft tapestries, might be cited as indications of inability for one reason or another to procure the requisite amount of wool for fine weaving. Or, the emphasis placed on cotton might be indicative of a style dependent upon different quality standards. The Late Ica tapestries are marvels of intricate design and sustained color-harmony. By these criteria they stand preeminent among other Late tapestries. But to compare them with the highest form of craftsmanship from Late Chimu and Chinchá puts the latter at the temporary disadvantage suffered by an apparently

simple work of art placed beside an obviously complex one. The finest wool tapestry is sturdy and unyielding compared to a cotton crêpe shawl decorated at widely spaced intervals with embroidery or brocade. The difference is at once apparent in pieces from Chincha (pl. 38) and Nazca (pl. 14). Each conforms to its own standard and has been developed in materials which present no intrinsic handicaps. Wool will take the richer colors, cotton yield greater sheerness of texture.

Purely from the standpoint of technical skill, it is open to argument whether greater difficulties are overcome in the production of a figured tapestry than in the manipulation of crêpe yarns and fine wools to produce a patterned transparent fabric.

The historic reason for these Chimu-Chincha similarities is perhaps the fact that both areas were flourishing at the Inca conquest and continued important after it. The region from Lima to Supe, in which lie Ancon and Chancay, was evidently less prosperous at this period. Nazca had become unimportant; Ica scarcely that, but yet was clearly secondary to Chincha. What seems to have happened is that the greater coast centers specialized on the material (cotton) which they produced, and developed processes that brought out its potentialities. Even submission to the highland Incas appears not to have seriously checked this development. The poorer districts, however, especially Nazca, continued in the earlier tradition which derived from Tiahuanaco-Epigonian times, when the highest specialization on fine tapestries was in vogue. It is also significant that of all the fabrics here studied those which most resemble the Inca shirt which Bandelier secured at Titicaca²⁴ are several from Nazca (pls. 33, 34), mostly from the Inca period settlement at Poroma. While the impoverished, uninfluential Nazcans either maintained, as best they could, the ways of their forefathers, or followed the styles of their conquerors, the Chinchas and Chimus were turning successfully to new processes and effects based upon the material which their local culture provided. The explanation is hypothetical but seems reasonable and fits the known facts of documentary history.

Processes Characteristic of the South in All Periods

A local peculiarity of the southern area, extending through all periods, is the use of scaffolding yarns and end-to-end warp locking. In Early Nazca these processes are employed to make the peculiar multicolor open-mesh cloth whose square, geometric pattern conforms to the whole fabric (pl. 6a, figs. 8, 9, 10). In the red portions, both warp and weft are red; and so for each color. In other words, a set of

²⁴ Crawford, 121, fig. 8, 1916.

TABLE 5
SOUTHERN PECULIARITIES IRRESPECTIVE OF PERIOD

	North: <i>Moche</i>	Central: <i>Chancay, Ancon, Lima</i>	Intermediate: <i>Cañete, Chincha</i>	South: <i>Paracas, Ica, Nazca</i>
Scaffold weft ²⁵ (10)				
Late.....				2
Middle.....				4
Early.....			2	2
Warp locking, end-to-end ²⁵ (7)				
Late.....			1	1
Middle.....				2
Early.....				3
Interlocking tapestry (67)				
Late.....		1	....	20
Middle.....		4	....	41
Early.....				1(?)
Figure-8, in sling centers (42)				
Late.....				31
Middle.....		1	....	7
Early.....				3
Wrapped weave, single and multiple weft (32)				
Late.....				25
Middle.....				6
Early.....				1
Knitting, edge-bindings (55)				
Late.....		1	1	2
Middle.....		1	....	30
Early.....			1 ²⁶	19
Knitting, 3-dimensional (12)				
Late.....				
Middle.....				
Early.....				12
"Needleknitting"- embroidery ²⁷ (30)				
Late.....			3	18
Middle.....				5
Early.....			1	3
Weave-plaiting, with weft elements (7)				
Late.....				3
Middle.....				3
Early.....				1

²⁵ Scaffold weft implies end-to-end warp locking and interlocking weft within plain weave (fig. 9); warp locking used alone is a device to add warp length for a border or to effect a color change within the fabric (fig. 10). In the latter case weft of the same color as the new warp is used (171362b, 3898). The Chincha example, a shawl, is blocked off in large gray and tan squares by this method.

²⁶ Includes Early Cañete not listed in summary table.

²⁷ Needleknitting, an embroidery stitch, is identical to a knitted edge-binding one loop wide. It could be done by the ordinary knitting process; the stitchery variant represents a short cut to a lighter effect. Occurring both Early and Late in the same sites with the common form, it must be looked upon as knitting, structurally.

warps runs lengthwise only as far as a given color, and is then replaced by an interlocked set of warps of the new color. Transverse yarns, which we have called scaffold weft, must originally have existed at the horizontal lines of color contact, and have been withdrawn on completion of the pattern. Awkward as this process is in principle, it evidences an ambitious ideal and allows a distinctive effect. It occurs also in Early Cañete (170262b, 170322), whose culture is Nazca-influenced, and continues at Nazca into Epigonal (pl. 19). Cloth of this particular type has not been found from later periods, but end-locked warps and scaffold wefts have been encountered in Middle and Late Ica from Ica and Nazca (4369, 4884, 5473c, d, 171362b), and in a single example from Chinchá (3938). This looks like a local persistence of technical processes after the specific style of fabric with which they had formerly been associated in the area had gone out of use.

This case appears to be only one of several examples of persistent southern traits, as illustrated by the following tabulation. It will be noted that Cañete-Chinchá and Chancay-Ancon-Lima occasionally lean toward Nazca-Ica, but that Moche, which is farthest north, does not, wherever a Nazca-Ica peculiarity is in question.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, then, it may be said that at least on the central and southern coast of Peru the textile art was already established in a highly skilled and elaborate form at the period of our first relatively datable archaeological material—Early Nazca A, going back to the beginning of the Christian era according to Uhle's estimate. From that time on, few new processes were devised, but the interest accorded one or another process of textile manufacture or ornamentation varied according to period almost as much as the decorative design forms. These designs, whenever elaborate, changed to correspond approximately with the designs painted on pottery: typically semirealistic or at least representative in the pre-Tiahuanaco era, stiffly representative or already meaningless in Tiahuanaco-Epigonal times, frankly geometric or conventionally stylized and repetitive in the Late period. At the same time each region tended to retain local distinctiveness in the techniques favored, and these flavors of provincialism the Inca conquest had not yet obliterated in cloth any more than in pottery shapes and decorative patterns.

GLOSSARY

Brocade (see footnote 16), single-face, and double-face (see p. 48).

Double cloth: a reversible fabric requiring two sets of warps arranged one above the other, each with its own weft. Commonly, the sets are of different colors. To make the pattern, certain reverse-side warps are raised to replace surface side warps which are lowered. Colors are exchanged and ties are formed between otherwise separate portions of the fabric. Since each set of warps, no matter what its position, is crossed only by its own weft of same color, strongly contrasted design areas are produced. (See footnote 17.)

Figure-8 weave: tapestry, in structure, over two single or two groups of warps. See footnote 18.

Fringe, extra length weft. See p. 48.

Loom-joining. See footnote 15.

Gauze. See footnote 19.

Needleknitting. See p. 32.

Pattern weave: a single or double-face fabric with design developed by warp or weft floats, i.e., yarns free for a distance upon the surface. Warp designs are dependent upon arrangement of colors in the set-up and their subsequent shedding. Weft float designs are independent of set-up, made by carrying the bobbin yarn over and under groups or series of warps. Crawford (147 ff., 1916) has adopted the term "bobbin weave" for this type.

Plain weave: the interlacing of a single weft yarn over and under single warps.

1a type: the interlacing of a single weft yarn over and under warps in pairs.

1b type: the interlacing of two weft yarns over and under the same single warps.

Basket: the interlacing of two weft yarns over and under warps in pairs.

1+, interlocking: warps of two colors, upon meeting at upper and lower edges of a pattern figure, loop about each other; colored weft yarns similarly loop about each other at side edges. Interlocking plain weave presupposes skeleton yarns. See p. 49.

Tapestry: plain weave in which weft are battened together so closely as to completely cover warps. A Peruvian tapestry is with few exceptions wool weft over cotton warps relatively heavy or grouped for size.

Eccentric: interlacing of weft and warps at angles other than right angles. Generally used to develop irregularly-shaped spots and curvilinear design motives.

Kelim: tapestry distinguished by slots at the sides of pattern figures. Weft of one color turn on an edge warp; those of the adjoining color turn on the adjacent warp. Length of slot is governed by size of color area.

Interlocking: manipulation of weft yarns to avoid slots at edges of color areas. (1) Weft of one color loop about weft of an adjoining color; (2) weft of adjoining colors turn about a common warp; (3) weft of adjoining colors loop about each other at the same time enclosing a common warp.

Underfloat: colored weft of one pattern figure pass under warp yarns to reappear in one or several pattern figures on the same plane. Used for small details in combination with interlocking types.

Twine-plaiting: "lace" constructed of pairs of yarns which twine about each other for distances dependent upon the design. Where two pairs meet to cross, each separates and plaits as in modern bobbin lace.

Weft scaffolding. See p. 50.

Wrapped weave: formed by carrying the weft element forward and around a single warp at a time. Similar to outline stitchery which is done on already woven material, in contrast to wrapping on bare warps.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES AND FIGURES AND MUSEUM NUMBERS OF SPECIMENS ILLUSTRATED

Specimens designated by numbers containing four or less figures are in the University of California Museum of Anthropology; those of six figures, in Field Museum of Natural History. The former properly possess the prefix 4-,²⁸ which has been omitted so as not to conflict with grave numbers.

The several sites at a locality are distinguished by capital letters; sub-sites or portions of a cemetery by small letters following; graves by numbers. Thus, "Cahuachi, Nazca, Aj10-171218a" means part or fragment *a* of Field Museum specimen 171218 which was found in grave 10 of portion *j* of cemetery (site) A at Cahuachi, valley of Nazca. "Ocucaje, Ica, E15-4556" means University of California specimen 4-4556 from grave 15 of site E (at Ocucaje) in the valley of Ica.

All California specimens were excavated or secured by Max Uhle²⁸ between 1899 and 1905; their sites are described in the papers issued in volumes 21 and 24 of this series. All Field Museum specimens were excavated or found by Kroeber in 1925 and 1926; their sites have not yet been described in print.

An asterisk denotes that the precise provenience of the specimen, and therefore its associations and period, were not obtained; or that it is a surface find. All such pieces, however, are certain as to valley, and sometimes as to precise locality; and their period is often inferable with little doubt.

Arrows by the letters on plates and text figures denote the direction of the warp.

Plates

EARLY CULTURES

Plate 1. Cahuachi, Nazca. Aj10-171218a; wool embroidery and brocade on cotton shawl; *a*, detail, $\times .36$; *b*, *c* (corner), $\times .57$.

Plate 2. Cahuachi, Nazca. *a*, *b*, Aj10-171226. Surface and reverse sides of wool border on cotton kerchief; single-face pattern weave, warp floats; $\times .5$. *c*, Aj13-171266b; wool embroidery over top of poncho armseye. $\times .5$.

Plate 3. *a*, Trancas, Nazca; *9058; knitted wool fringe; $\times .5$. *b*, Cahuachi, Nazca; Ag-171113, 171114, Ha-171180a; knitted fringes; $\times .83$. *c*, Cahuachi, Nazca; Ag-171112; knitted fringe border to black cotton veil, 36×14 inches; $\times .73$.

Plate 4. Cahuachi, Nazca. *a*, Ag-171110; gauze weave motives within cotton fabric; $\times .83$. *b*, Aj11-171236; double-face pattern weave motive in center of cotton kerchief, $15\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$ inches; $\times .81$.

Plate 5. Cahuachi, Nazca. Aj13-171262; 3-color striped wool shawl 60×52 inches; needleknitting within fringe; $\times 1$.

Plate 6. *a*, Cahuachi, Nazca; Ag-170211e; plain weave, interlocking warps and weft; borders cotton, motives wool; $\times .44$. *b*, Ocucaje, Ica; A-4567a; wool fabric built up row by row of half-hitching; $\times .95$.

Plate 7. *a*, Cacatilla, Nazca; *8537; twine-plaited wool lace veiling; $\times .37$. *b*, Trancas, Nazca; *9056; painted cotton cloth; $\times .2$.

²⁸ Except that the Chancay and Ancon pieces were collected by Charlotte Uhle and their catalogue numbers bear the prefix 16-.

Plate 8. Cantayo, Nazca. *a*, C-ax-171071d; child's cotton shirt 10 × 15 inches; knotted bindings at neck and armseyes. *b*, C-ax-171033; 3-color striped wool kerchief, 16 × 14½ inches; × .5. *c*, C-ax-171045; wool yarn outlining on cotton material; × .5.

Plate 9. Paracas. *a*, *170102; *b*, *170096; *c*, *170095b. Wool embroidery on cotton; knitted edge-bindings; × .7.

Plate 10. Paracas; *170095. *a*, *b*, surface and reverse sides of single design motive; × .47. *c*, wool embroidery in outline stitch on cotton; knitted edge-binding; × .46.

Plate 11. Cerro del Oro, Cañete. *a*, A16-169710c; complete cotton web, 15 × 6½ inches. *b*, A9-169660; twine-plaited wool fabric, 6 × 3 inches. *c*, A16-169702; 4-color warp-stripe wool bag; needleknitting on lower edge, 6¼ × 5½ inches.

MIDDLE CULTURES

Plate 12. Ocucaje, Ica. Epigonal. E15-4556; tapestry, interlocking and eccentric types; × .17.

Plate 13. Trancas, Nazca. Epigonal. *9052; wool poncho, tapestry weave; × .17.

Plate 14. Trancas, Nazca. Epigonal. *a*, *9061a. *b*, *c*, *9061; wool tapestry; × .41.

Plate 15. Nazca. Epigonal. *a*, "Nazca"; *9114; wool headband, underfloat tapestry; 18½ × 2½ inches. *b*, Cahuachi; *8786; fragment of bag, wool tapestry; knitted bindings; 3½ × 3¾ inches. *c*, Cahuachi; *8785; bag, wool tapestry; knitted binding around openings; 2½ × 9½ inches.

Plate 16. Trancas, Nazca. Epigonal. *9053; kelim tapestry; 25 × 14½ inches.

Plate 17. Nazca, Epigonal. *a*, Cacatilla; *8539b. *b*, Cahuachi; *8784. *c*, "Nazca"; *9134; tapestry ribbons, various lengths. *d*, "Nazca"; *9131; double-face pattern weave; warp floats. *e*, Tunga; *8440; single-face pattern weave, warp floats. *f*, Tunga; *8443; twine-plaited wool belt, 104 inches long. All × .43.

Plate 18. Nazca. Epigonal. *a*, "Nazca"; *9118; Monochrome tapestry border; double-face pattern weave stripe; × .3. *b*, Trancas; *9055; wool bag, warp-face plain weave; embroidered motives; knitted edge-bindings; × .57.

Plate 19. Cacatilla, Nazca. Epigonal. *8538a; plain weave, interlocking warps and weft; 20 × 24 inches.

Plate 20. Cahuachi, Nazca. Epigonal. *8783; *a*, surface, *b*, reverse side of pile weave fabric; 9 × 2¾ inches.

Plate 21. Cahuachi, Nazca. Epigonal. *171134; double-face fabric, variant form of twine-plaiting; × .65.

Plate 22. Chíncha. "Early" (Epigonal) Chíncha. *a*, D-3891a; kelim tapestry; × 1. *b*, D-3891; loom-joined widths for mat; × .9.

Plate 23. Chulpaca and Galagarza, Ica. Middle Ica. *a*, Z4-4867; detail of wool bag, underfloat tapestry weave; × .74. *b*, M-4359c; double-face brocade; warp shedding for secondary design; × .38.

Plate 24. Galagarza, Ica. Middle Ica. *a*, Z4-4869c; 3-color striped cotton fabric; interlocking weft; × 1. *b*, Z1-4834; cotton double cloth; × .42.

Plate 25. Aramburú, Lima. "Early" Lima. *a*, 105-169411c; double-face pattern weave border, all cotton. *b*, 107-169388; twining variant; wool yarns. *c*, 105-169415b; herringbone twill, cotton; wool tapestry border. All × .66.

Plate 26. Nievería, Lima. "Early" Lima. 9350; wool cap, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches total height; single-element fabric built up row by row of counterpaired half-hitches.

Plate 27. Nievería, Lima. "Early" Lima. *a*, 9350e; plain weave, warp-face wool fabric, tie-dyed; $\times .24$. *b*, 9350d; tab-edged wool band, kelim tapestry; $\times .66$. *c*, 9350a; knitted wool veneer on both sides of plain-weave cotton fabric; $\times .5$. *d*, 9350c; kelim tapestry, wool; fringe of extra length weft loops; $\times .66$.

LATE AND INCA CULTURES

Plate 28. Poroma, Nazca. Late Ica. *a*, *8380; single-face wool brocade on cotton crêpe; 39×28 inches. *b*, *8379; wool tapestry; monochrome, kelim, eccentric, figure-8 techniques; white portions, cotton yarn; $17\frac{3}{4} \times 37\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Plate 29. Poroma, Nazca. Late Ica. *8385; wool blanket; lengthwise stripes in monochrome, interlocking, and eccentric tapestry technique; complete piece, 64×72 inches; $\times .25$.

Plate 30. Nazca. Late Ica (Inca). *a*, "Nazca"; *9111; $23\frac{1}{4}$ inches long; *b*, Poroma; *8381; 27 inches long. Bags, plain and tapestry weaves; tops, half-hitching variant, pendants double-face wrapped weave: *a*, counterpaired; *b*, plain; tassels, edge bindings, wrapped weave.

Plate 31. Nazca. Late Ica. *a*, "Nazca"; *9115; wool double-face brocade on cotton; edge, tapestry, double-face pattern weave stripe; $\times .24$. *b*, Poroma; 171362d; surface and reverse sides of single-element fabric built up row on row of needleknitting; wool yarn; $\times .73$.

Plate 32. Nazca. Late Ica. *a*, Cacatilla; *8541; fragment composed of three widths, loom-joined; two all cotton, one wool; $\times .2$. *b*, Poroma; *8386; wool blanket; loom-joined; interlocking tapestry; complete piece 108×55 inches; $\times .06$.

Plate 33. Poroma, Nazca. Late Ica (Inca). 171377; wool shirt, $15 \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ inches; interlocking tapestry; saddler's stitch seam, needleknitting at edges.

Plate 34. Poroma, Nazca. Late Ica (Inca). *a*, *b*, *8387ab; front and back of wool shirt; interlocking tapestry; $\times .18$.

Plate 35. Ica. Late Ica. *a*, Tate-Chulpaca; Tf-5115; wool mat, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches square; interlocking and underfloat tapestry; *b*, Tate-Chulpaca; Td, 8-5064; kelim variant, spaced warps; *c*, Ocucaje; D1-4991; cotton gauze weave kerchief, $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches square; double-face wool brocade stripes. All $\times .5$.

Plate 36. Ica. Late Ica. *a*, Galagarza; X-4219; center portion of sling or girdle; multiple parallel wrapping. *b*, Ocucaje, D-4520; wool bag; kelim and eccentric techniques. *c*, Galagarza; X-4213; wool bag with handle; warp-face plain weave; needleknitting on edges; $7 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Plate 37. Galagarza, Ica. Late Ica; Y-4230; wool tapestry trim for neck opening; scaffold weft for shaping; kelim and eccentric techniques; $\times .81$.

Plate 38. Chinchá. Late Chinchá. E9-3954; corner of cotton crêpe shawl, $86 \times 60\frac{1}{2}$ inches; embroidered design; tapestry border; fringed tape with spaced warps; extra length weft loops; white portions of tape in cotton yarn; $\times .55$.

Plate 39. Chinchá. Late Chinchá. E8-3949a; plain-weave cotton shawl, 1a type, with single-face brocade motives in wool yarn; kelim tapestry border; $\times .56$.

Plate 40. Chinchá. Late Chinchá. D-3882; garment; double-face wool brocade on cotton; border single-face pattern weave; $\times .56$.

Plate 41. Chinchá. Late Chinchá. *a*, E13-3971; wool tapestry band, kelim and eccentric techniques; $\times .8$. *b*, E13-3970; cotton crêpe shawl; wool tapestry band; fringed tape with spaced warps and extra length weft loops; $\times .4$.

Plate 42. Chinchu. Late Chinchu. *a*, E12-3965f; cotton bag 6 inches square in double-face pattern weave; $\times .52$. *b*, E12-3965e; wool brocade borders on ends of cotton kerchief, plain weave, 1a type; $\times .8$. *c*, B9-3711; warp-stripe wool bag with square braid draw string; knitted edge binding; $\times .43$.

Plate 43. Chinchu. Late Chinchu. *a*, E13-3970a; wool tassel; chainstitch embroidery; $\times .23$. *b*, D-4070; wool tapestry headband in kelim technique; embroidered tassel head; $\times .23$. *c*, E13-3971a; wool tapestry border in kelim and eccentric techniques applied to lower edge of cotton shirt, plain weave, warp face; $\times .43$.

Plate 44. Chinchu. Late Chinchu. F4-4098; double cloth blanket, 58×63 inches in 21-inch widths; $\times .83$.

Plate 45. Chanchan. Late Chimu. *a*, 70e; fragment of cotton tapestry belt; kelim technique. *b*, 70g; end and tassels of cotton belt 44 inches long; kelim tapestry technique. *c*, 70f; single-face wool brocade on cotton; tapestry stripes. All $\times .41$.

Plate 46. Moche. Late Chimu. *a*, *H-2272c; all-cotton veil 25 inches wide, tapestry stripes; $\times .7$. *b*, *H-2263; corners of cotton shawl, 37 inches square; wool embroidery; $\times .65$. *c*, *H-2277b; wool embroidery, outline stitch; single-face brocade on cotton; $\times .65$.

Plate 47. Moche. Late Chimu. *a*, *H-2276; *b*, *H-2472; *c*, *H-2275; wool tapestry ribbons, kelim technique, from $29\frac{1}{2}$ to $34\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; white motives, cotton yarn; $\times .6$. *d*, *H-2274; cotton headband 23 inches long finished at ends with 7-inch tassels; double-face pattern weave; $\times .47$.

Plate 48. Moche. Late Chimu. Wool ornaments embroidered in chainstitch and couching. *a*, *H-2281a; $10\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches. *b*, *H-2283a; $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. *c*, *H-2288b; 7 inches long.

Figures in Text

Fig. 1. Early Nazca. Cahuachi, Nazca. Ag-171110; detail from cotton gauze weave fabric; $\times 2.5$.

Fig. 2. Early Nazca. Cahuachi, Nazca. G-171140; solid embroidery on wool ground; $\times .5$.

Fig. 3. Early Nazca. Cantayo. Nazca. C-ax-171049; wool embroidery in outline stitch on cotton ground; $16 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Fig. 4. Early Nazca. Cahuachi, Nazca. Aj10-171221; wool design motive inset into cotton shawl; $\times .5$.

Fig. 5. Early Nazca. Cahuachi, Nazca. Aj10-171222; wool embroidery on cotton crêpe shawl; single set-up; $50 \times 41\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Fig. 6. Early Nazca. Cahuachi, Nazca. Aj10-171216; wool embroidery on cotton. Figure $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

Fig. 7. Early Nazca. Cantayo, Nazca. C-ax-171071b; knitted wool veneer on cotton base; $14\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Figs. 8, 9. Early Nazca. Cahuachi, Nazca. Ag-171111; interlocking plain weave; 8, $\times .25$; 9, $\times 1.5$.

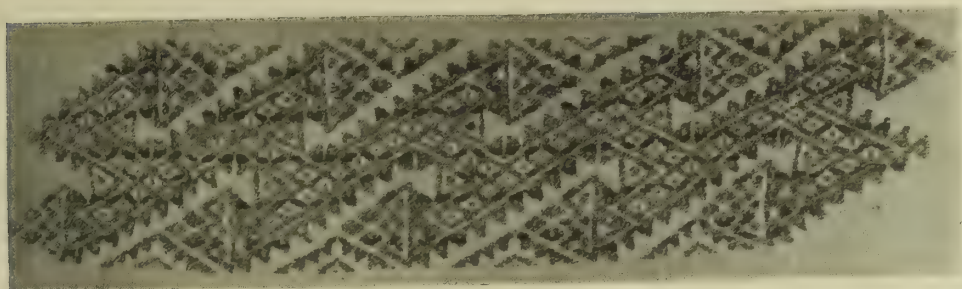
Fig. 10. Early Nazca. Cahuachi, Nazca. Al5-171308; shirt with interlocking plain weave portion; kelim tapestry borders; seamed; 78×45 inches.

Fig. 11. Epigonal. Ocucaje, Ica. El-4467a; double-face wool brocade on cotton; $\times .6$.

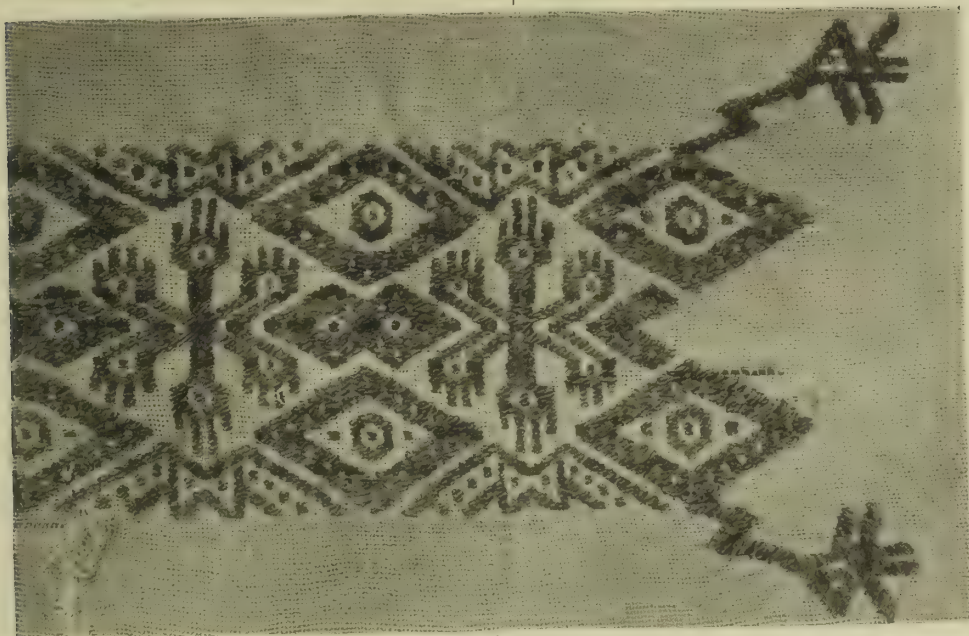
Fig. 12. Tiahuanacoid, Moche. A-2595g; double-face wool brocade border on cotton; $\times .75$.

Fig. 13. Tiahuanacoid. Moche. A-2594; kelim tapestry; $3\frac{1}{8} \times 6$ inches.

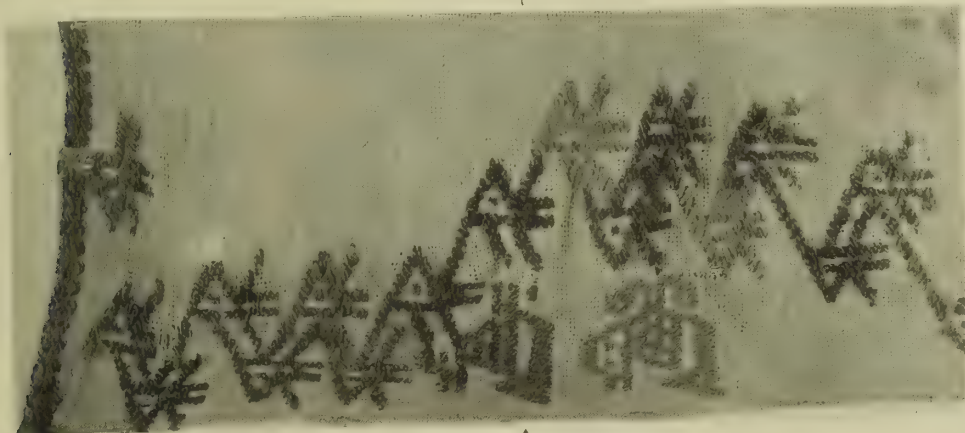
PLATES 1 TO 48



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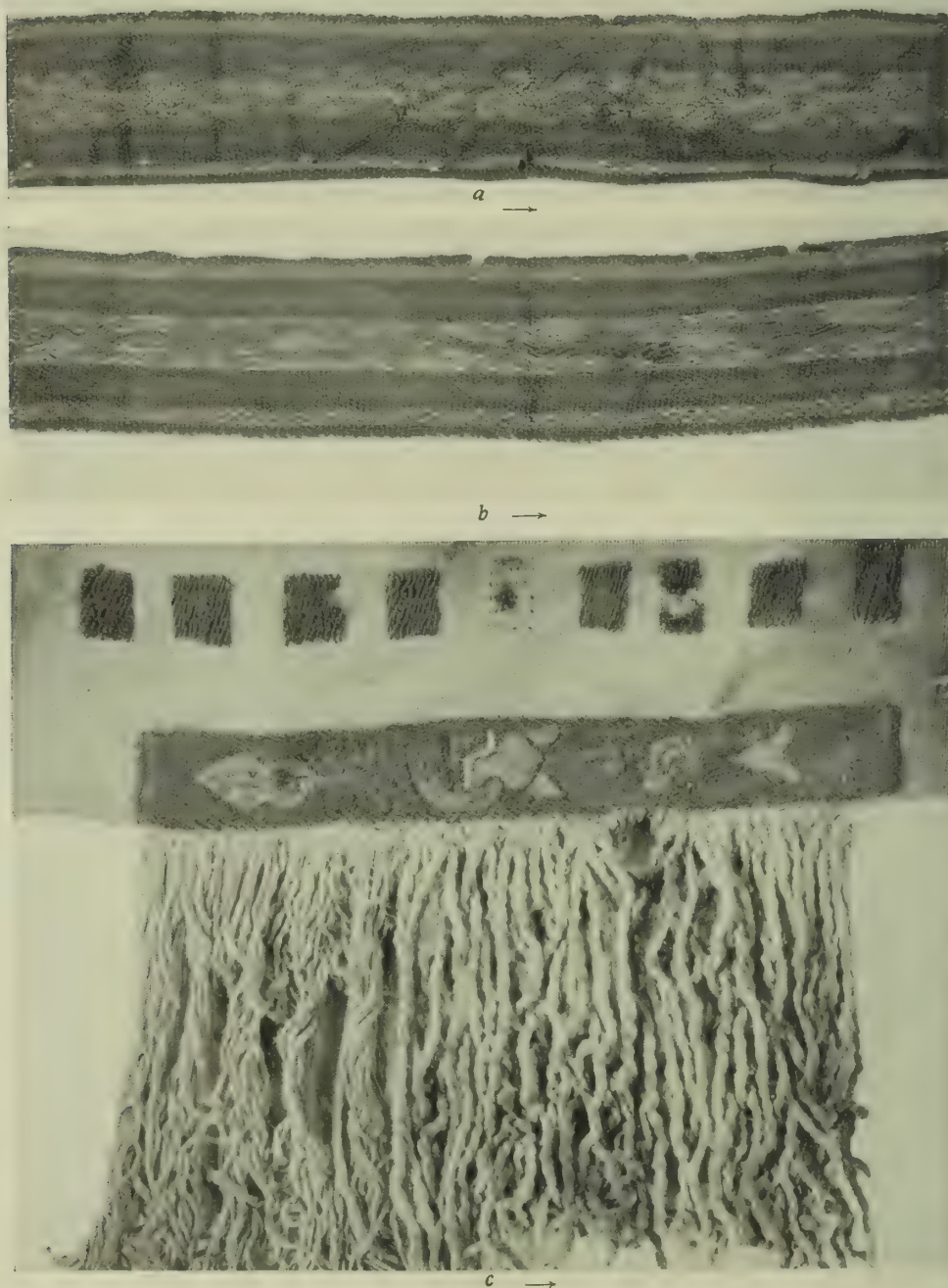


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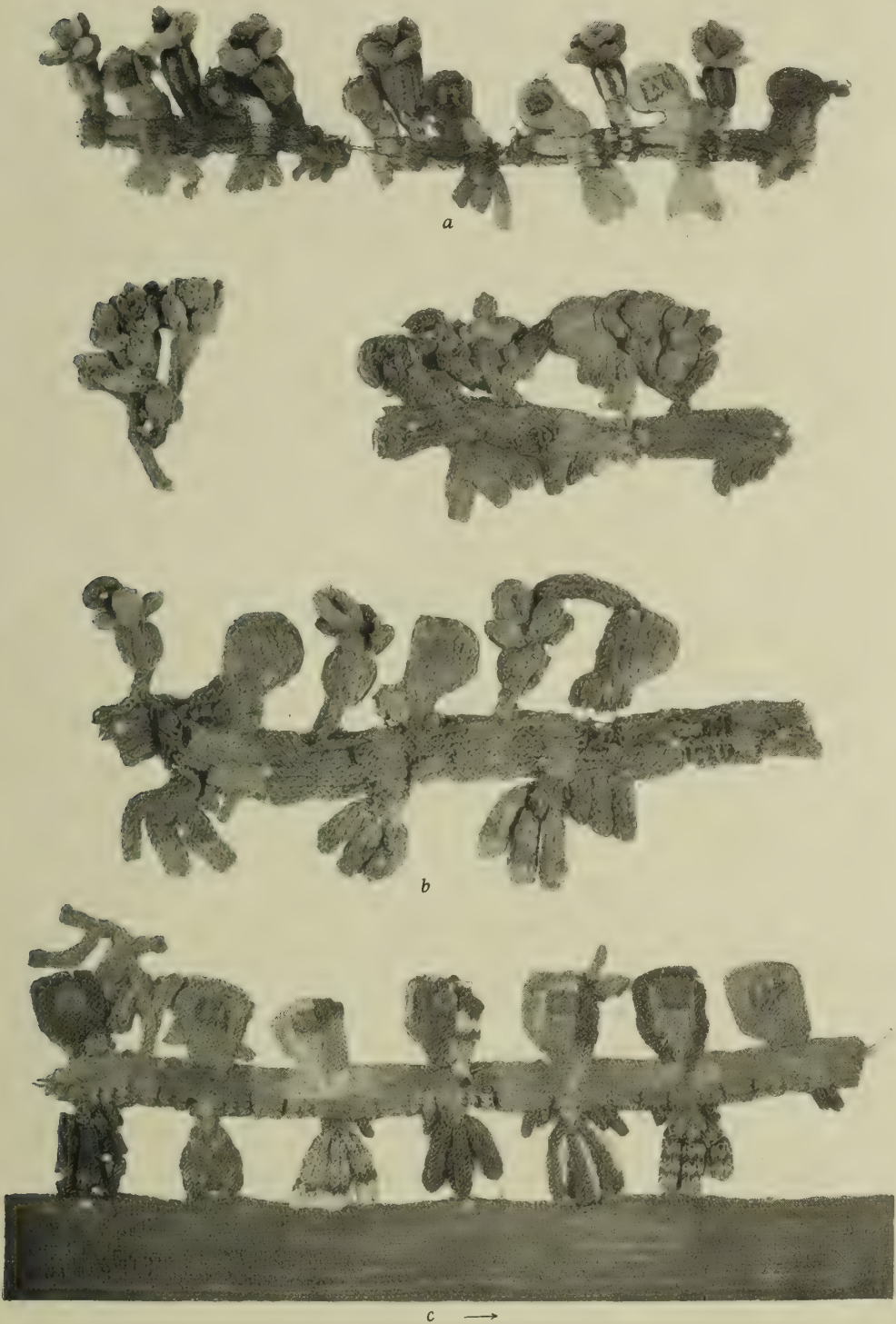


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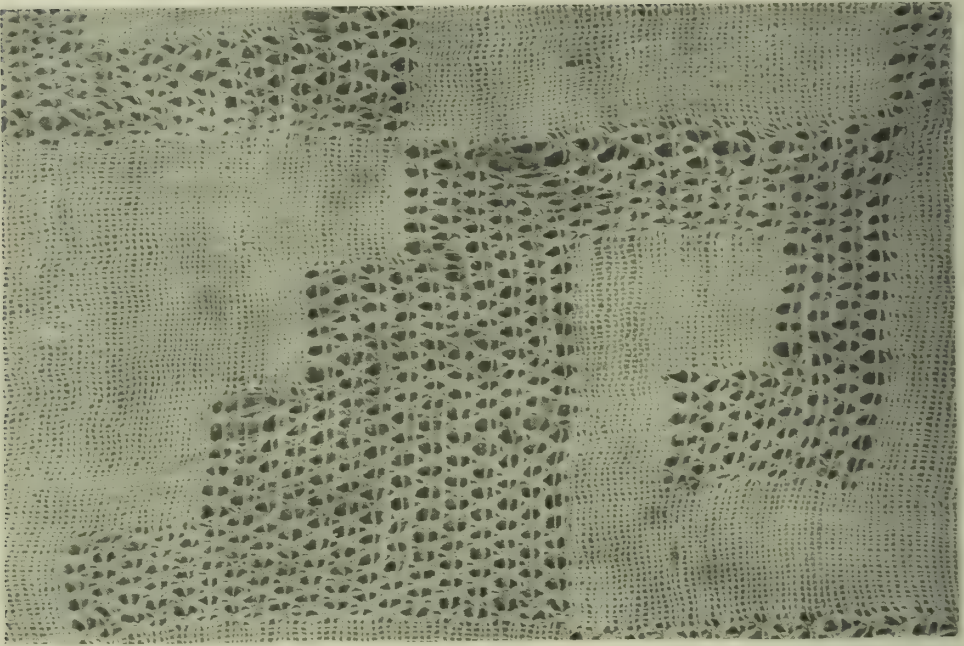
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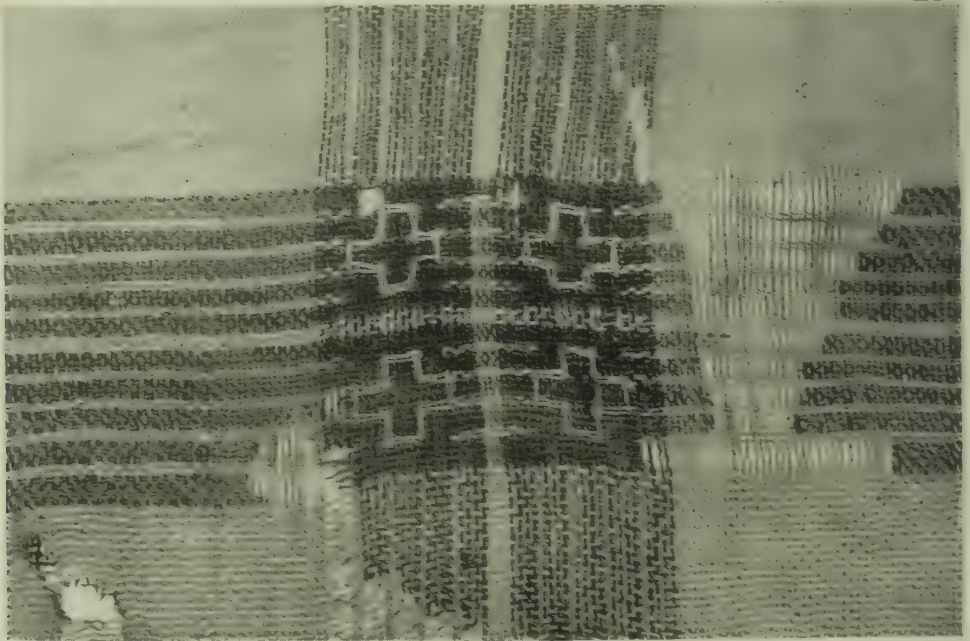
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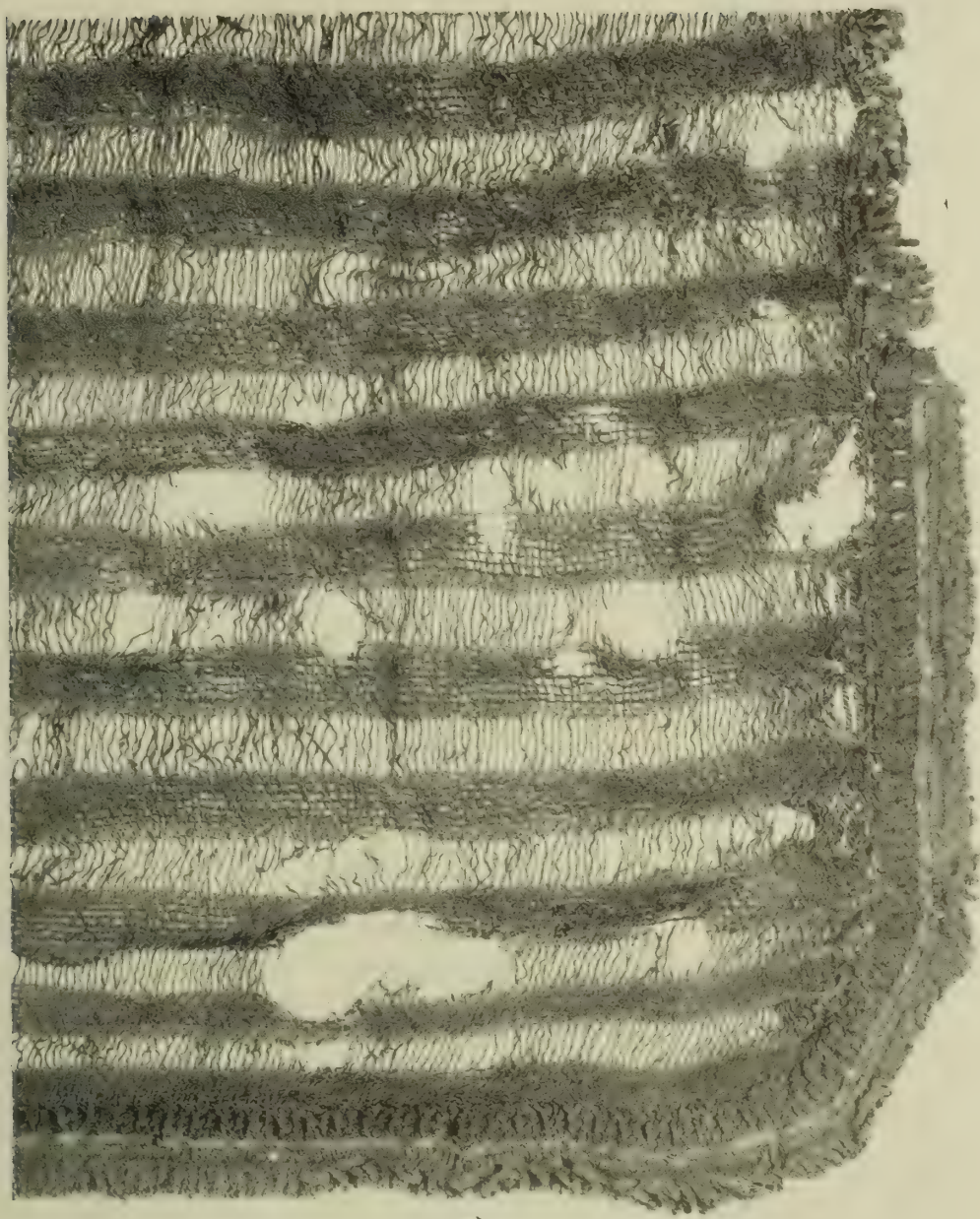


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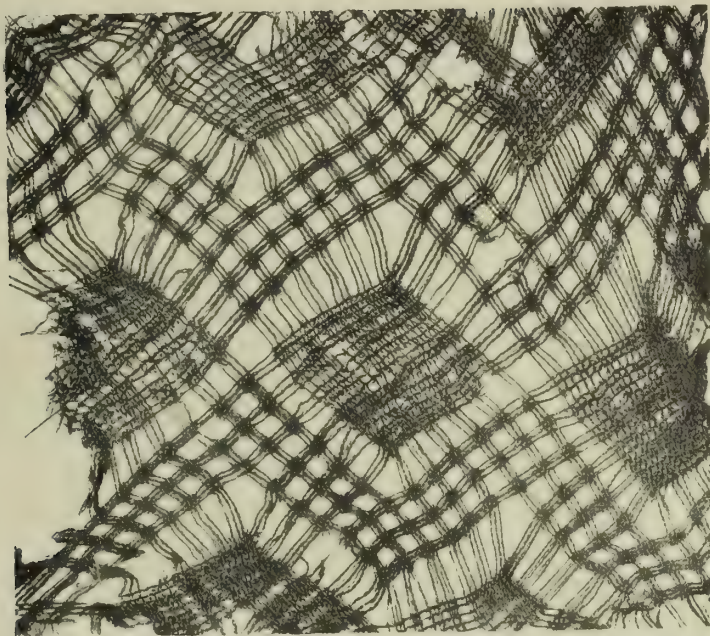
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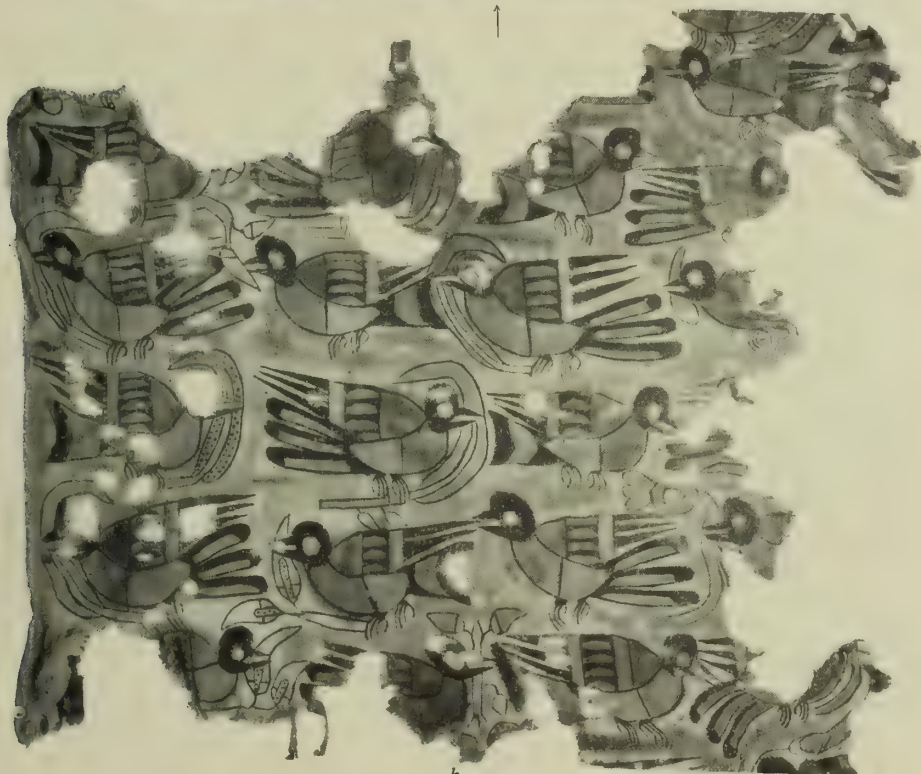
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EARLY NAZCA. *a*, NAZCA. FIELD MUSEUM. *b*, ICA.

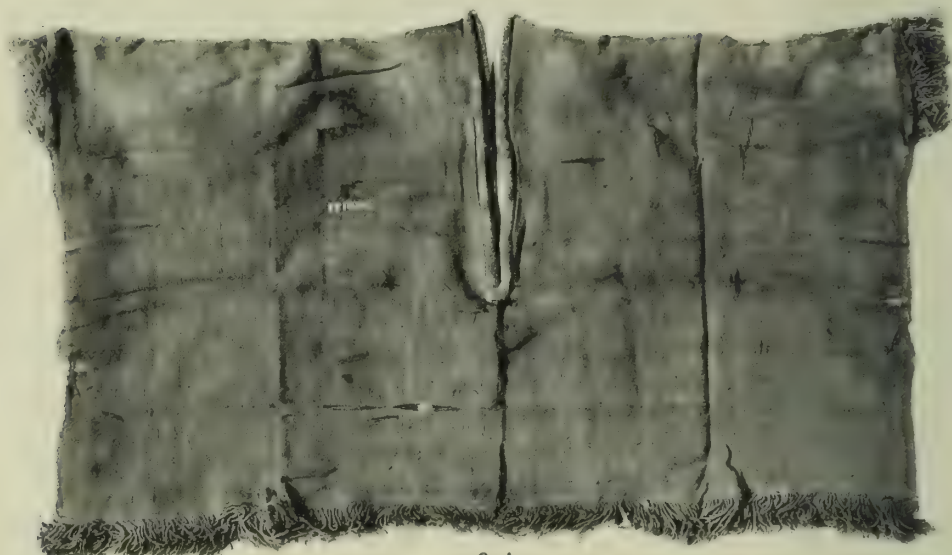


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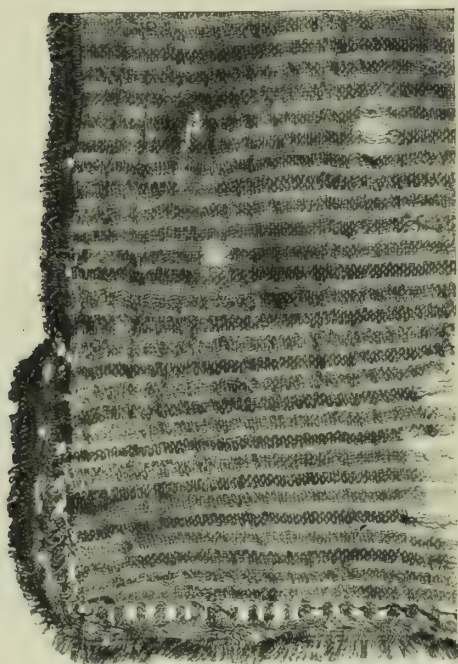


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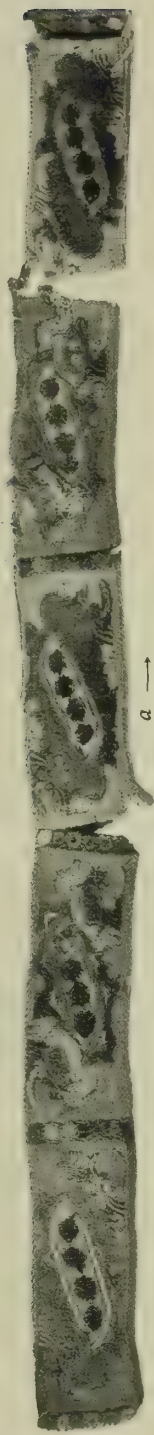


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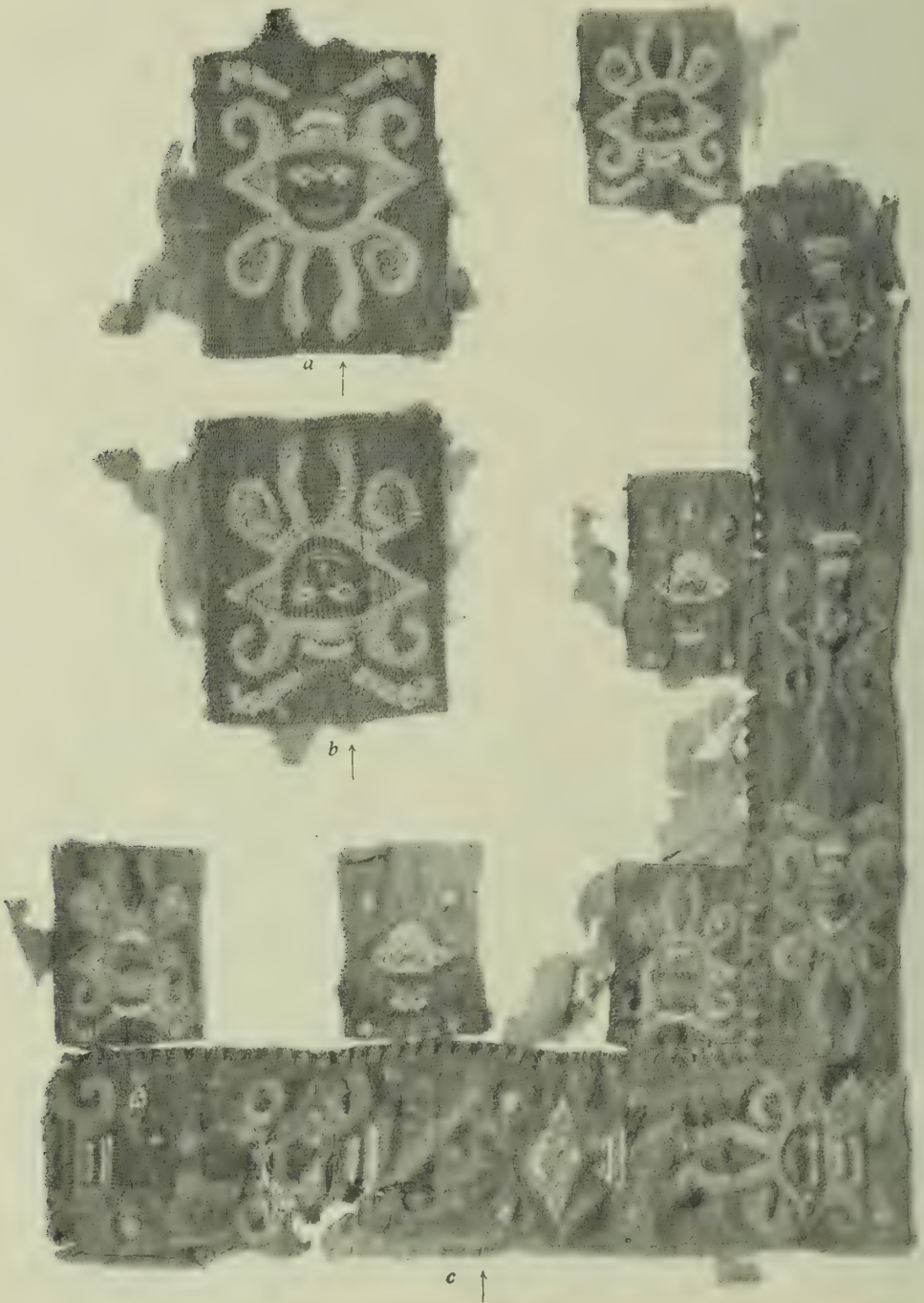
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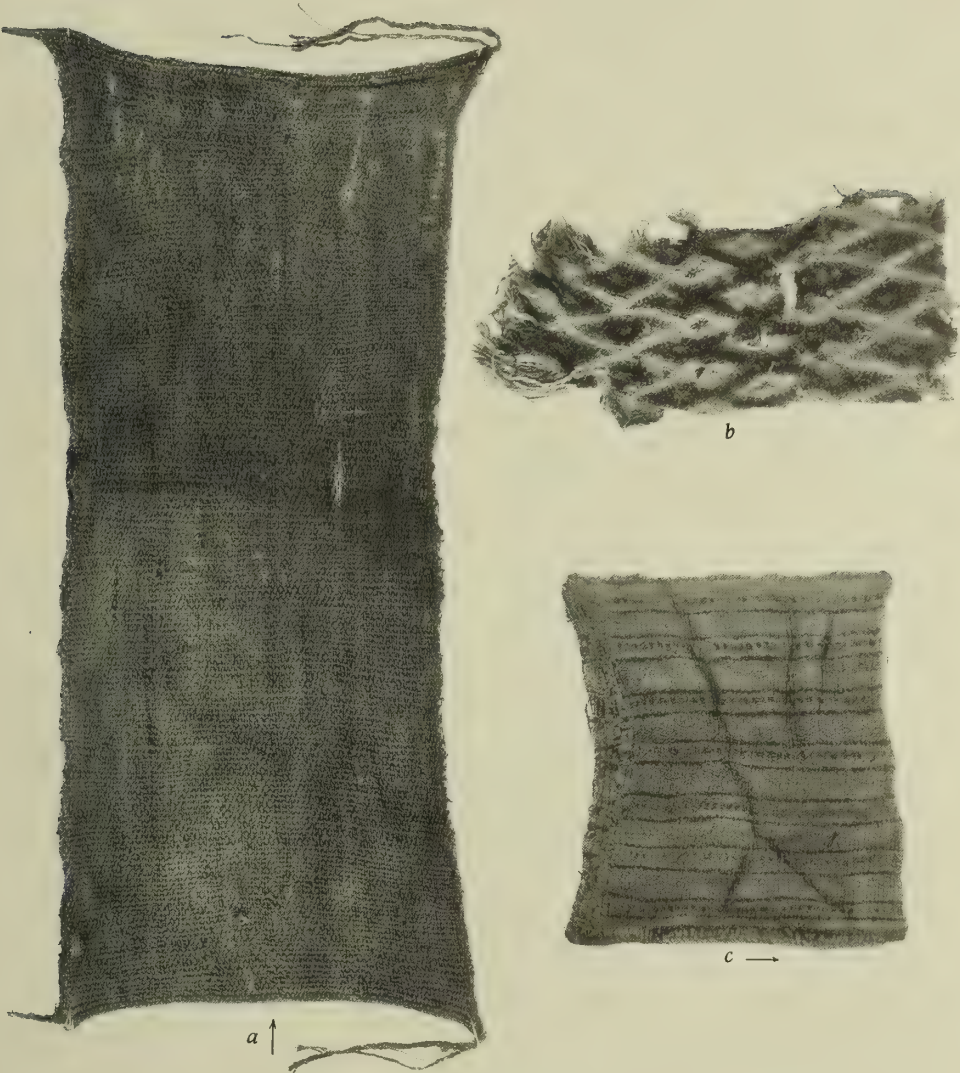
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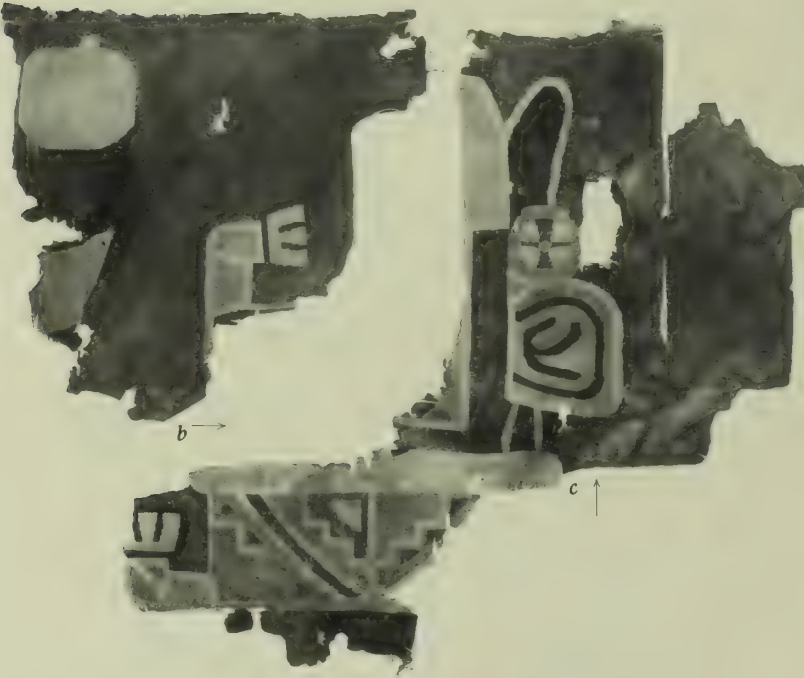
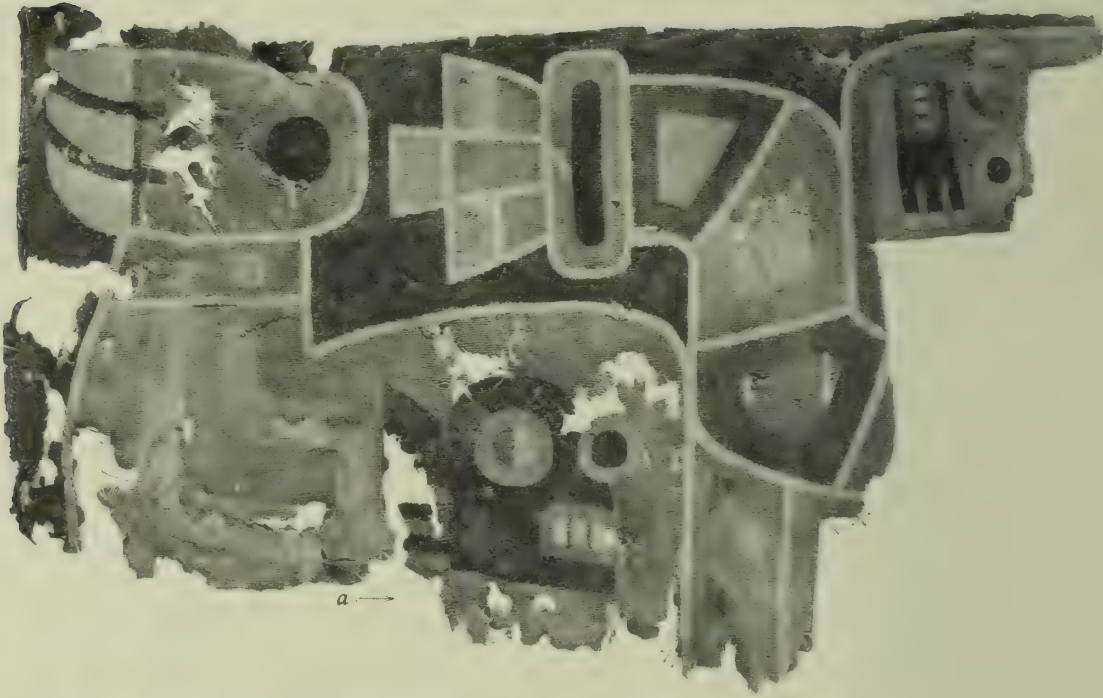
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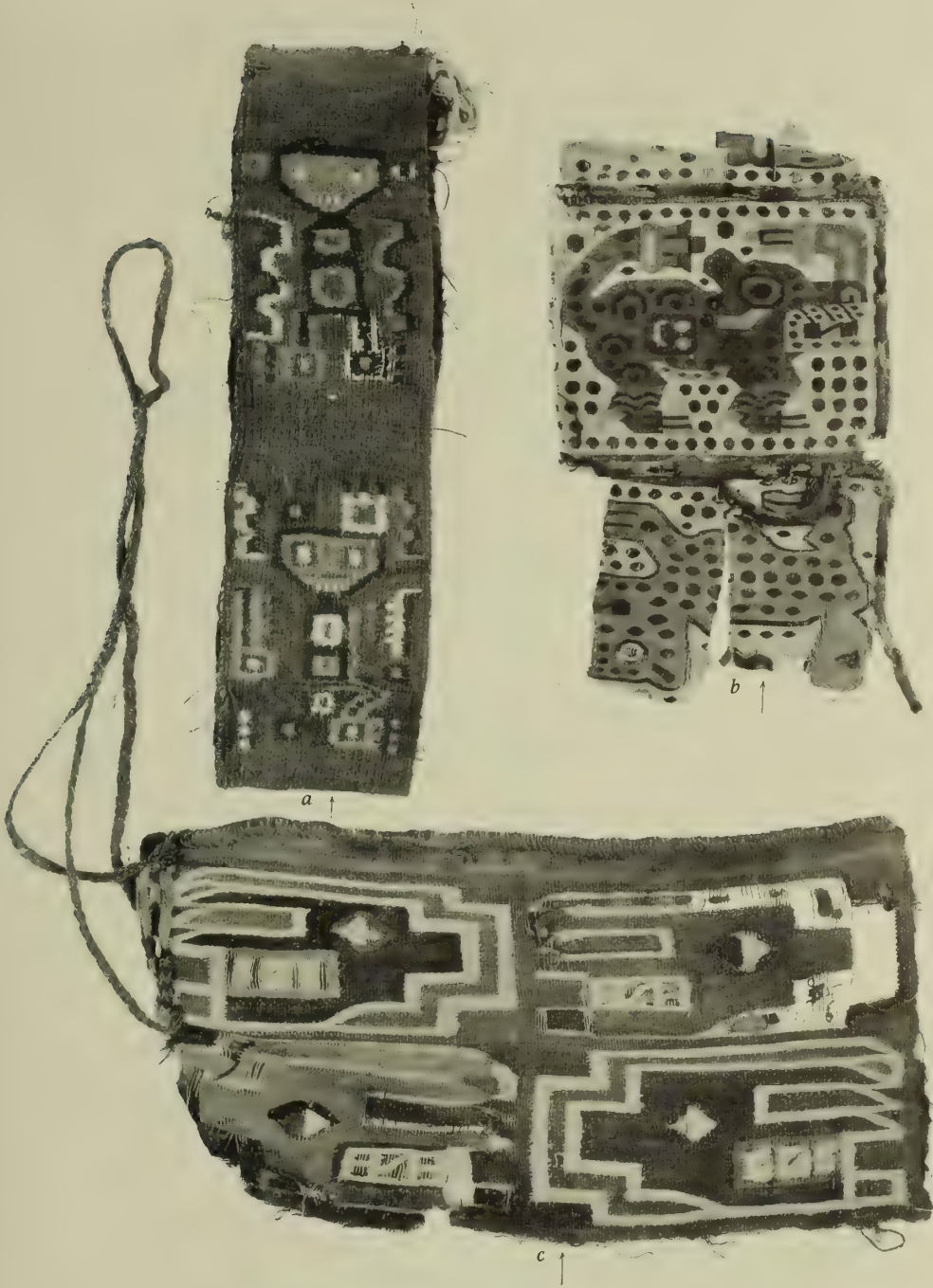
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EPIGONAL. NAZCA.



EPIGONAL. NAZCA.



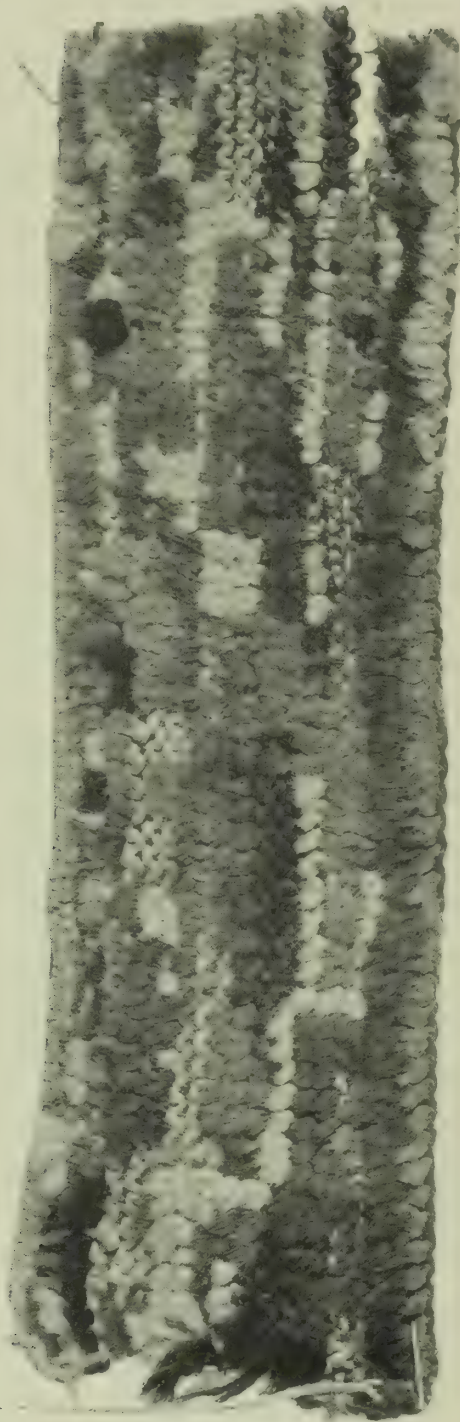
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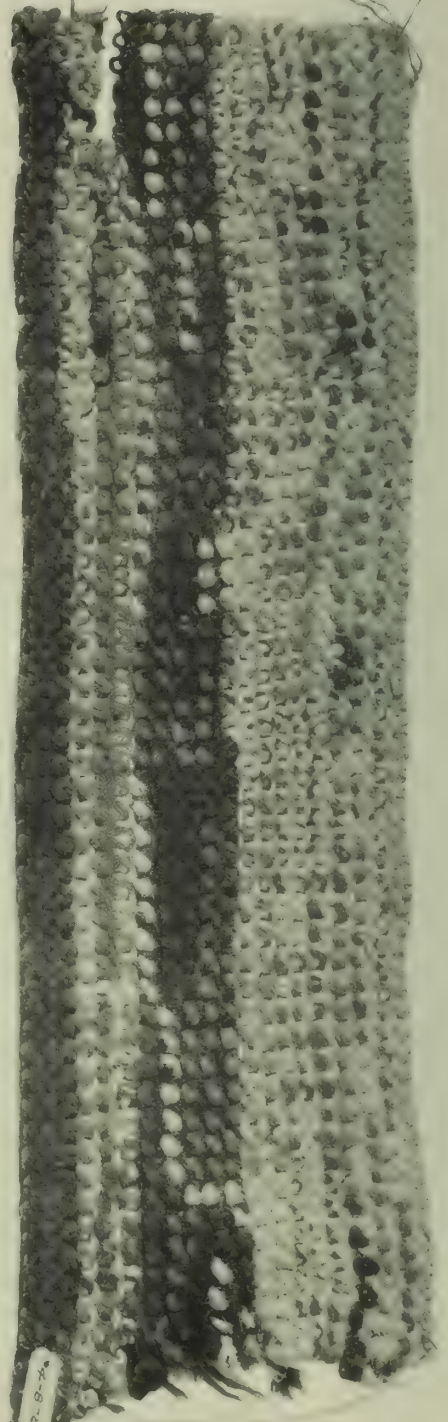
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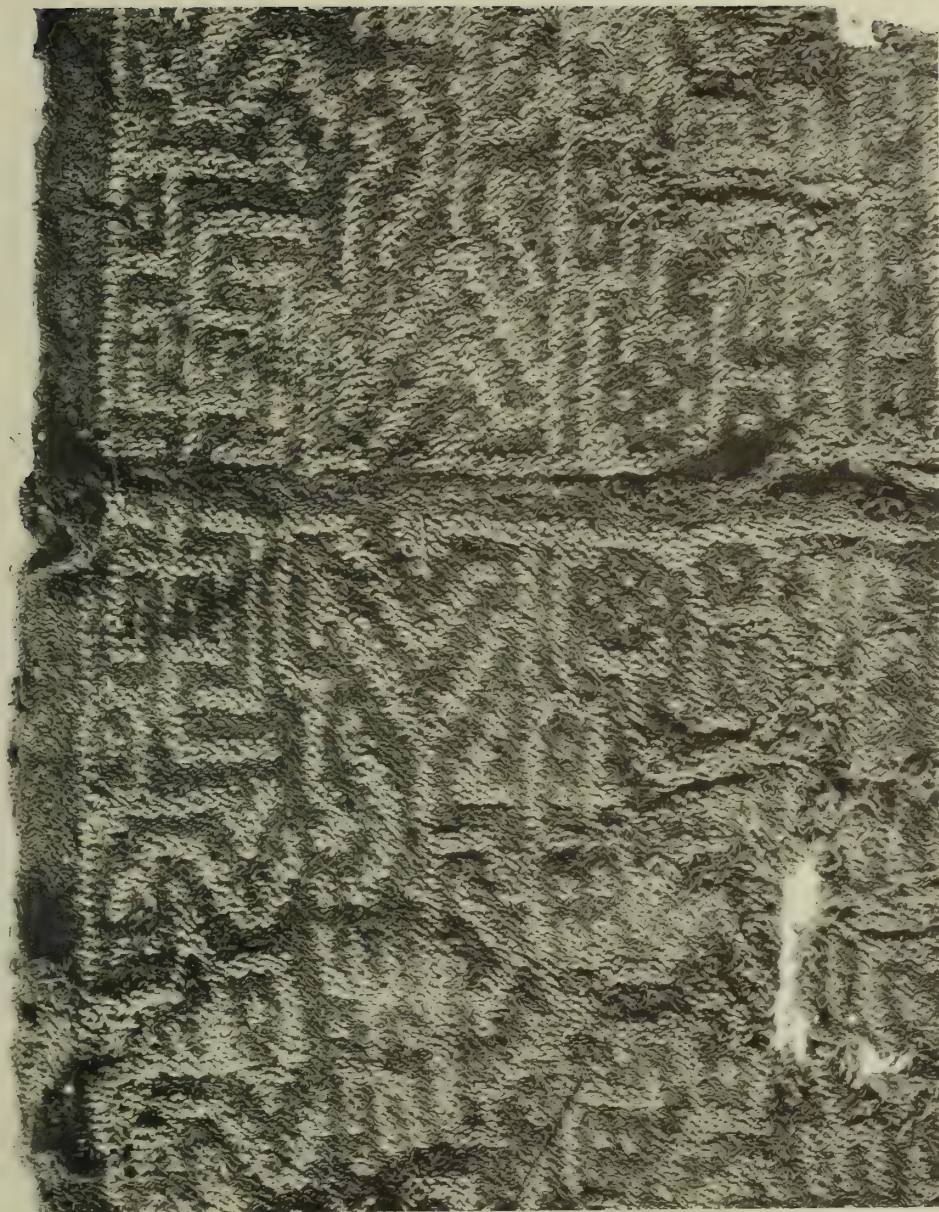


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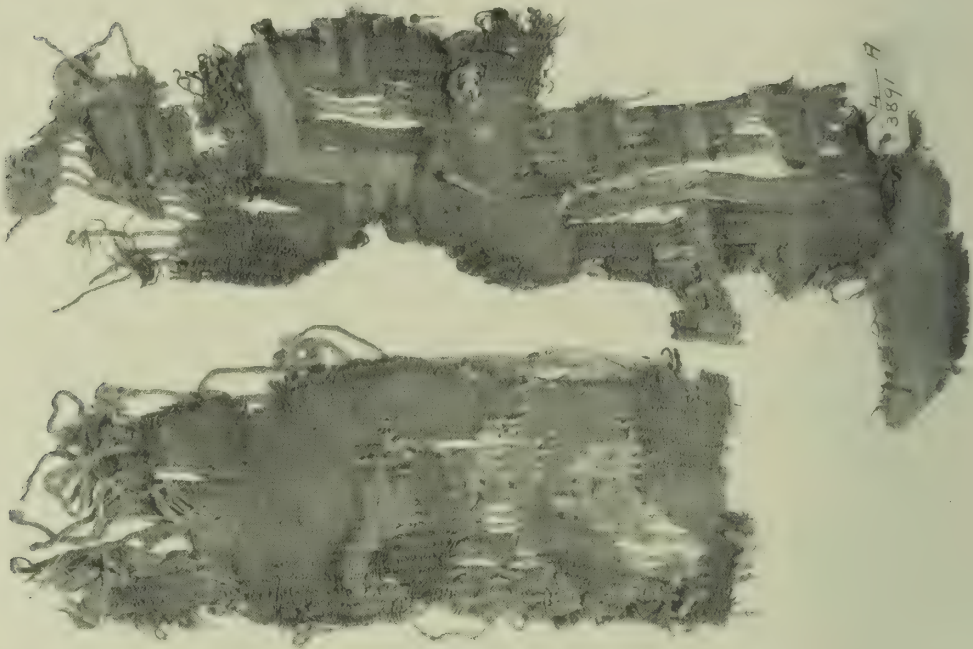


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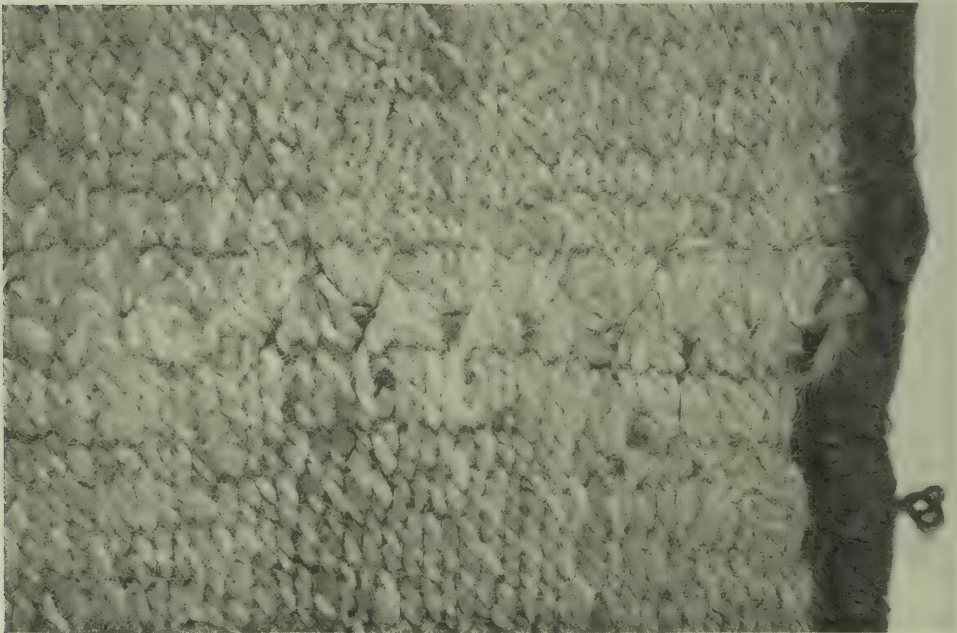
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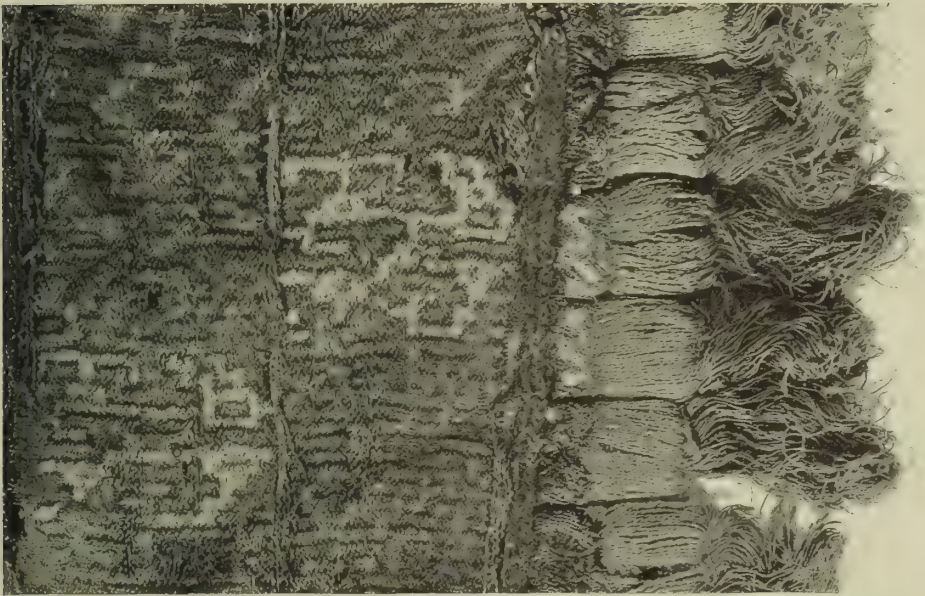


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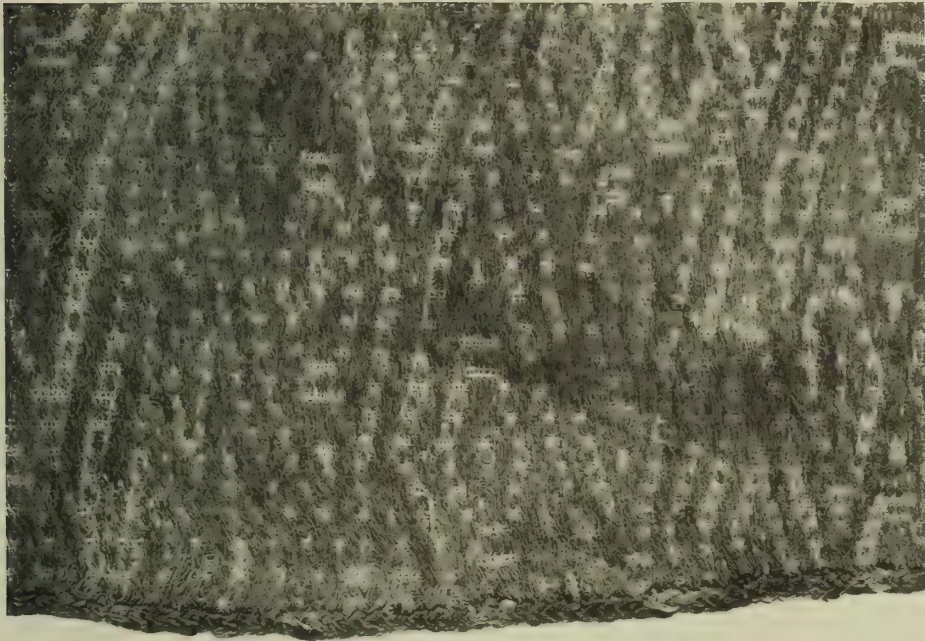


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“EARLY” (EPIGONAL) CHINCHA. CHINCHA.

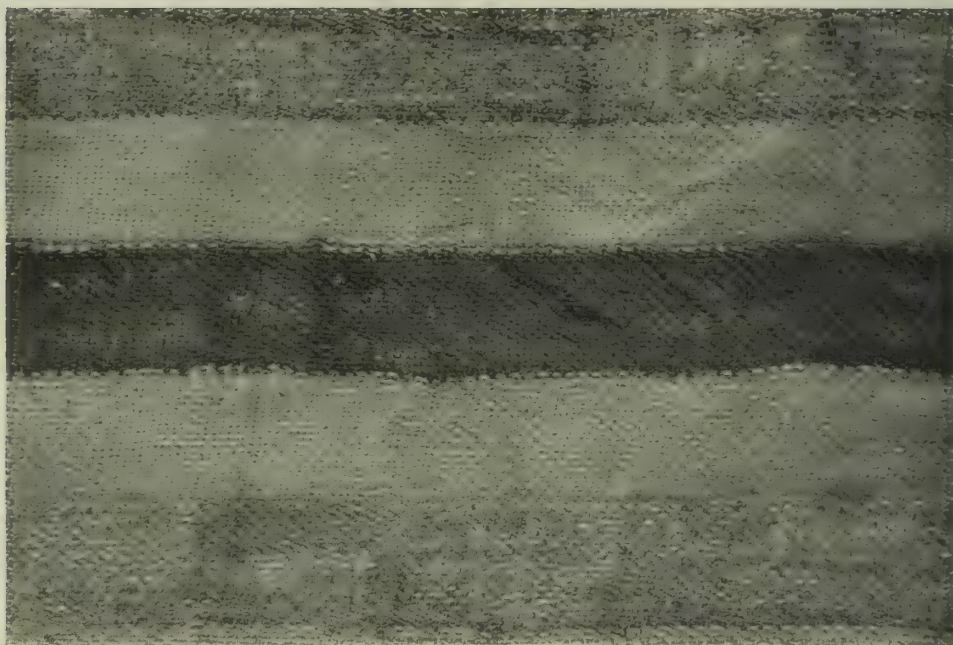


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MIDDLE ICA. ICA.



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MIDDLE ICA. ICA.



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“EARLY” (EPIGONAL) LIMA. NIEVERÍA.



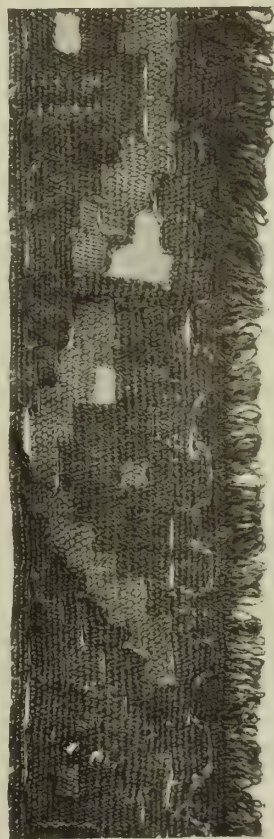
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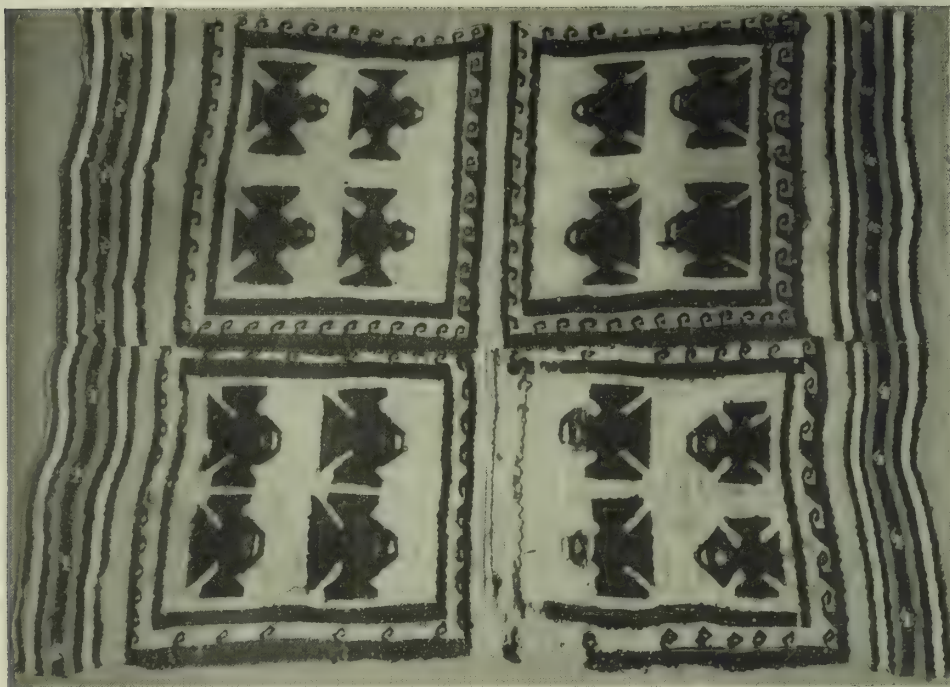


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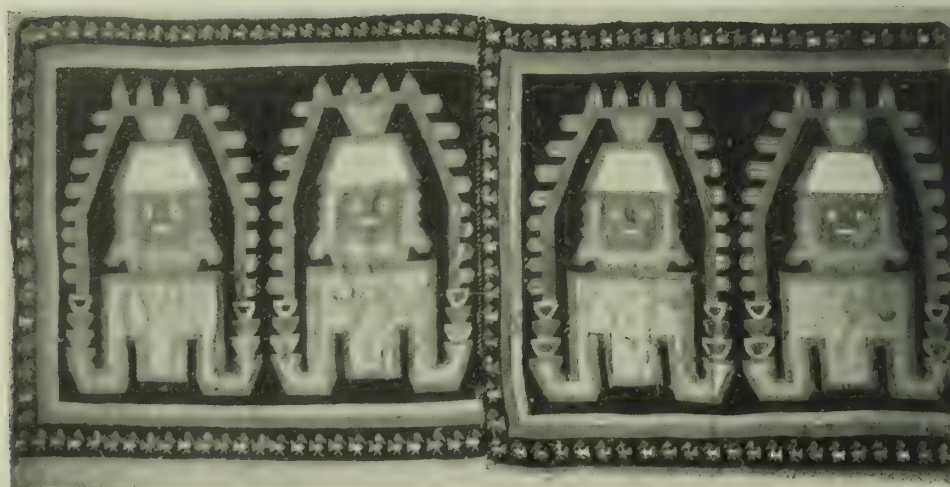


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"EARLY" (EPIGONAL) LIMA. NIEVERÍA.

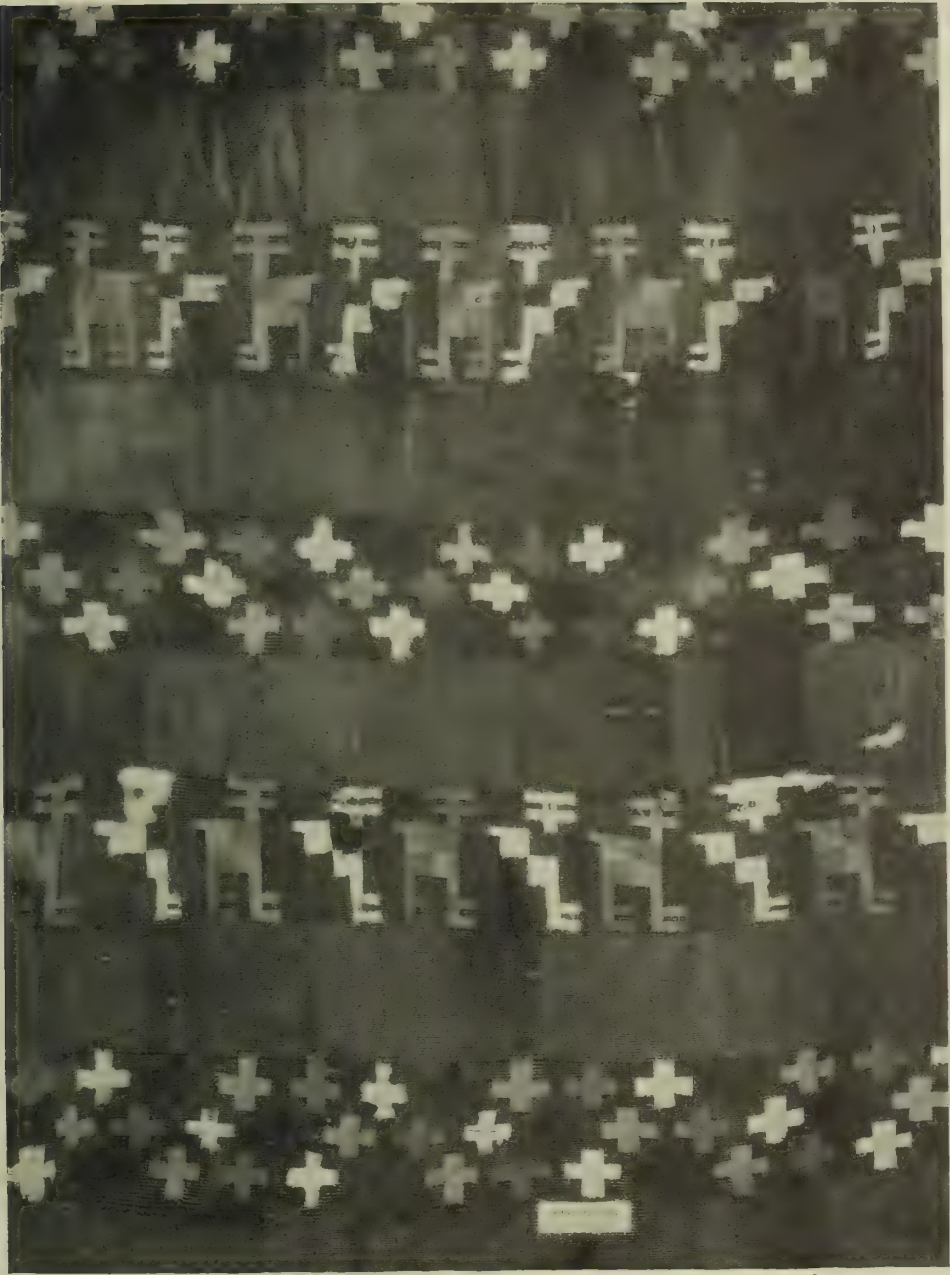


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LATE ICA. NAZCA.



LATE ICA. NAZCA.

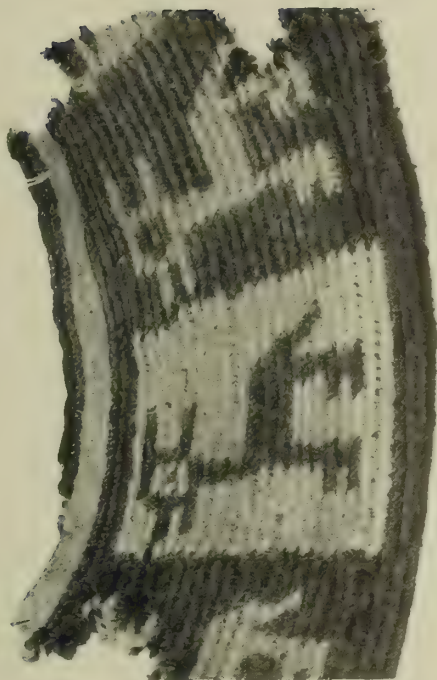


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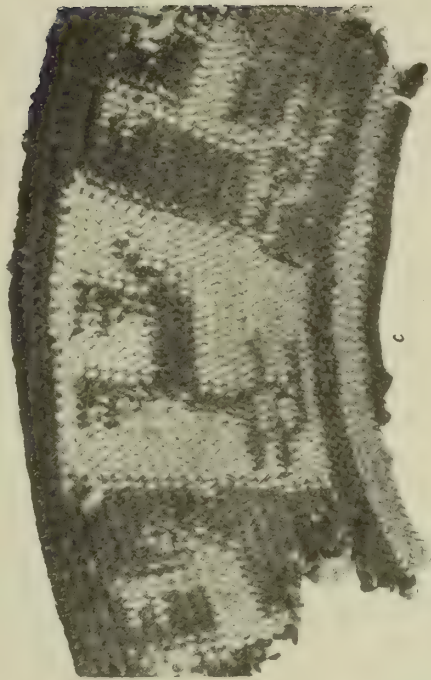


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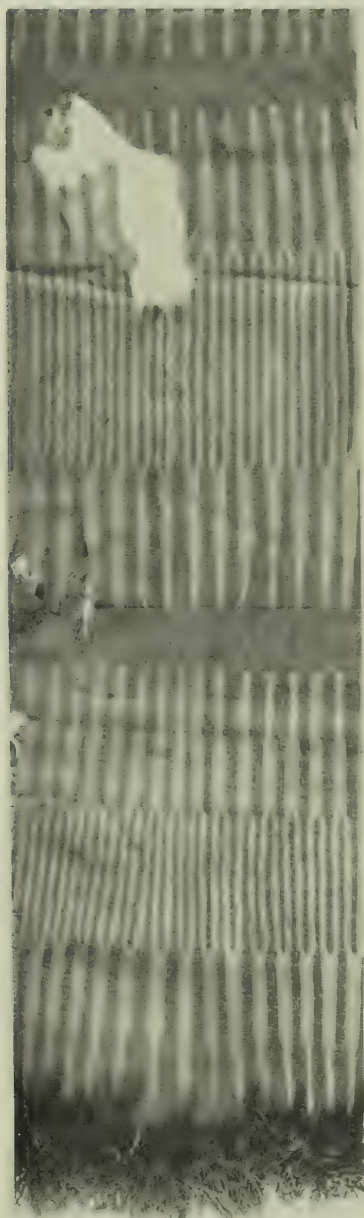
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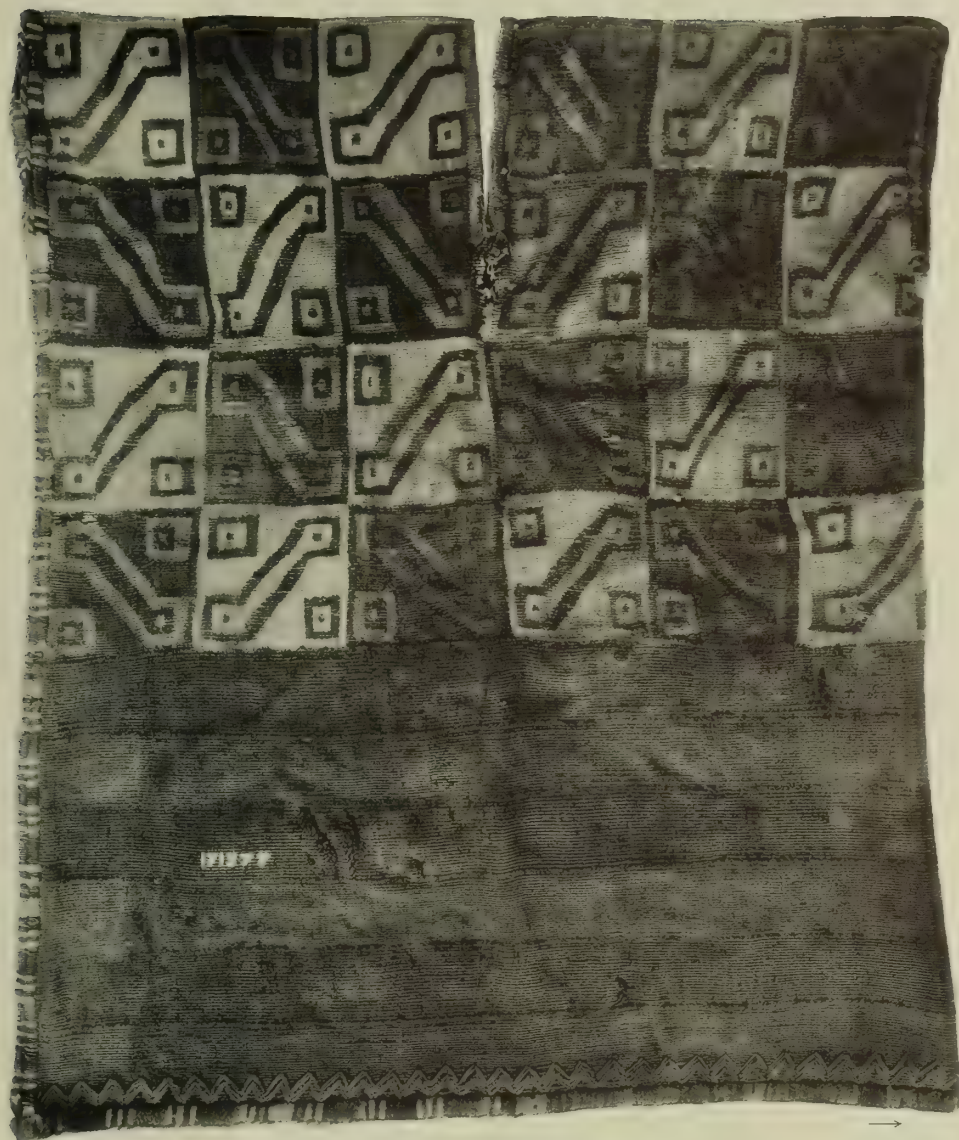


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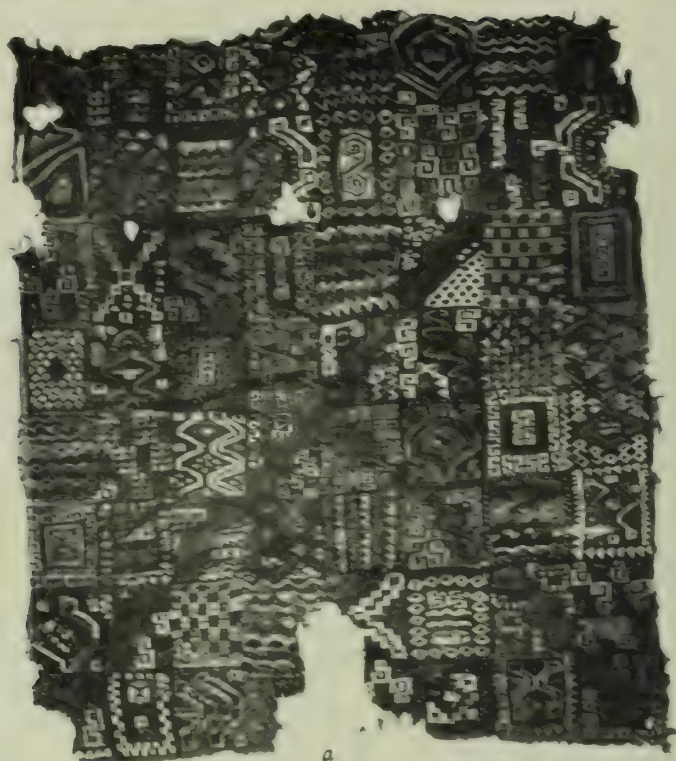


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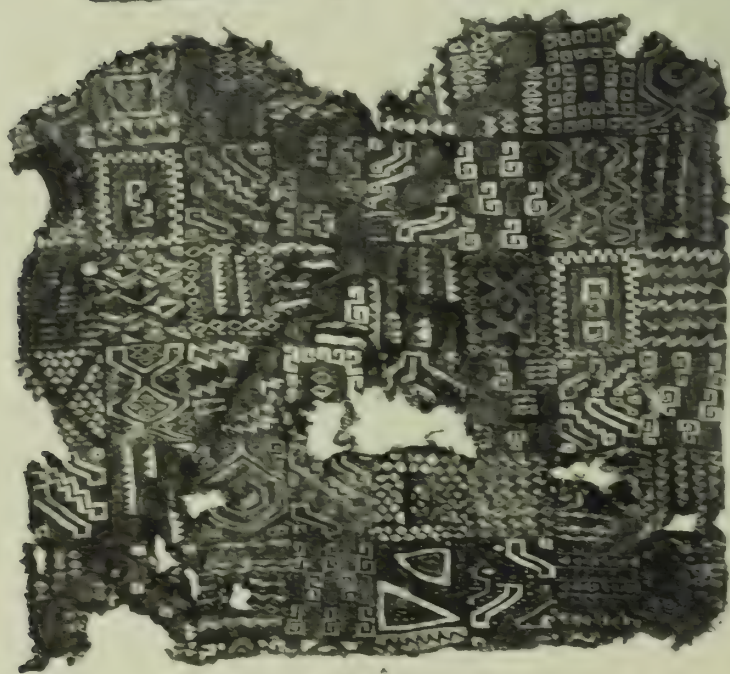
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LATE ICA. NAZCA. FIELD MUSEUM.



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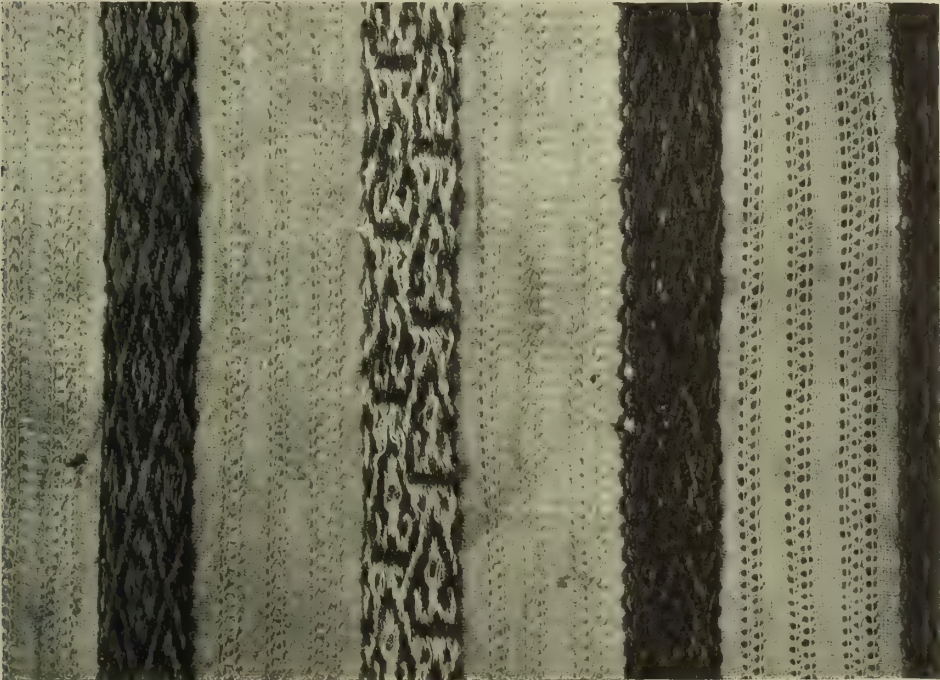
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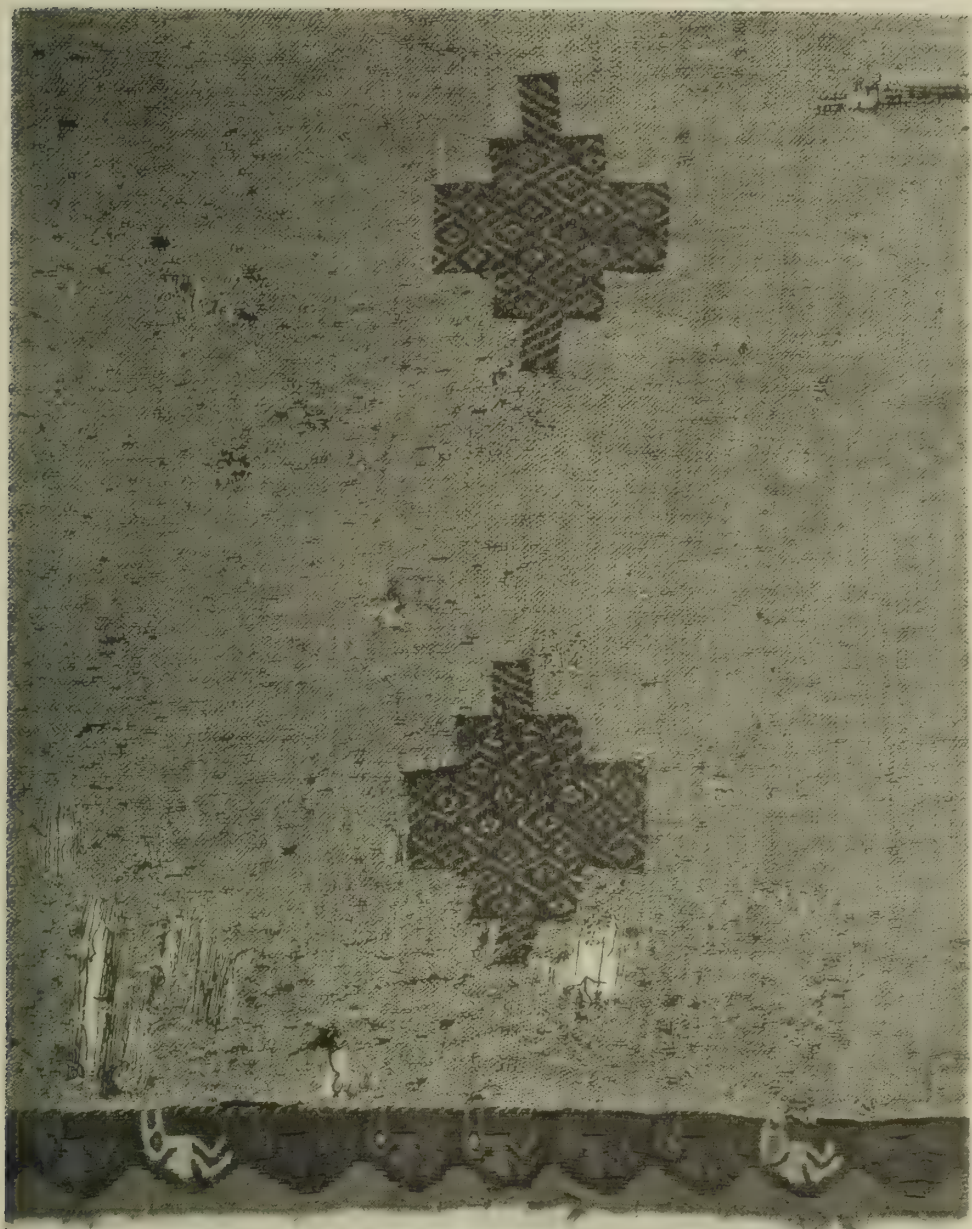
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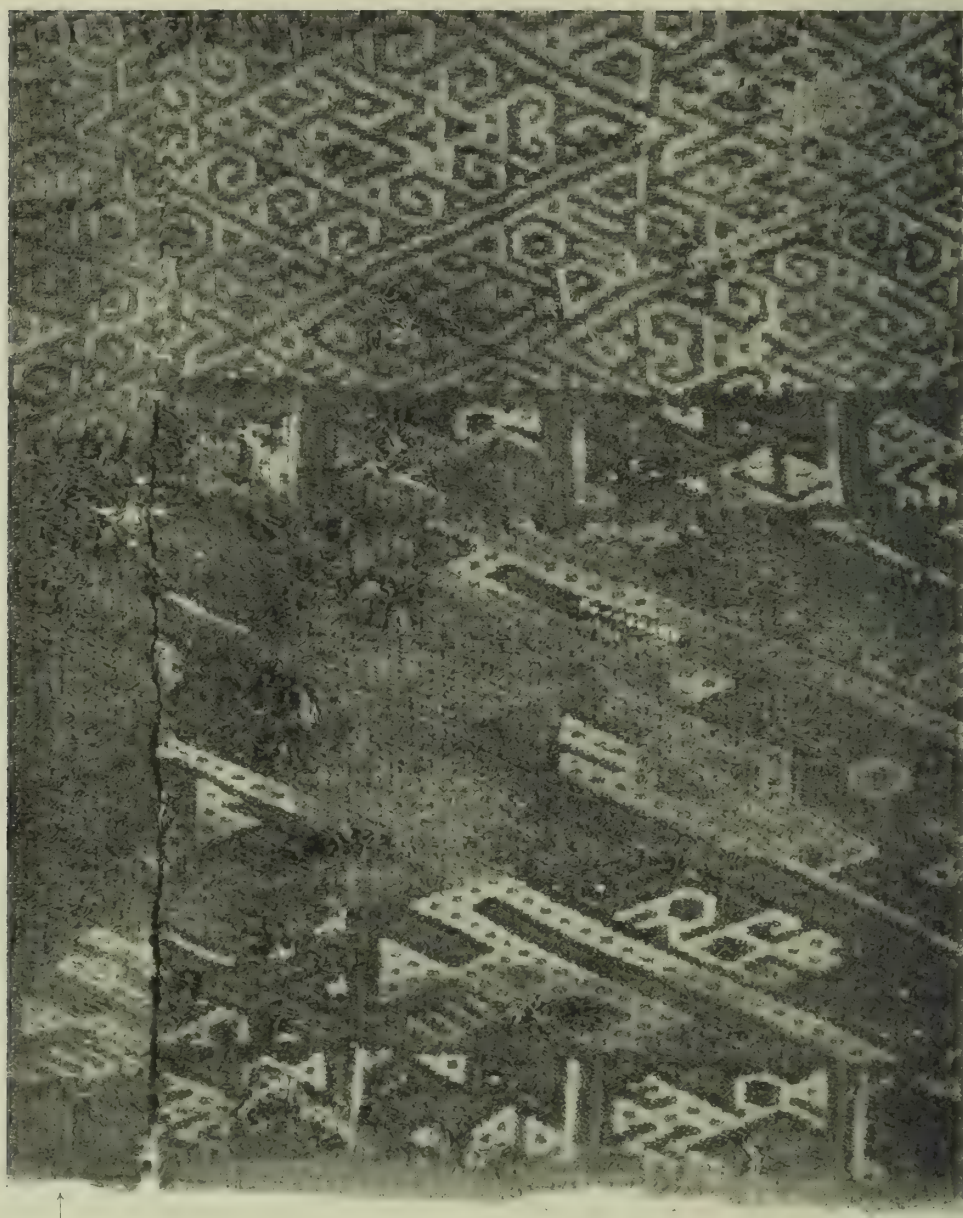
LATE ICA. ICA.



LATE CHINCHA. CHINCHA.



LATE CHINCHA. CHINCHA.



LATE CHINCHA. CHINCHA.



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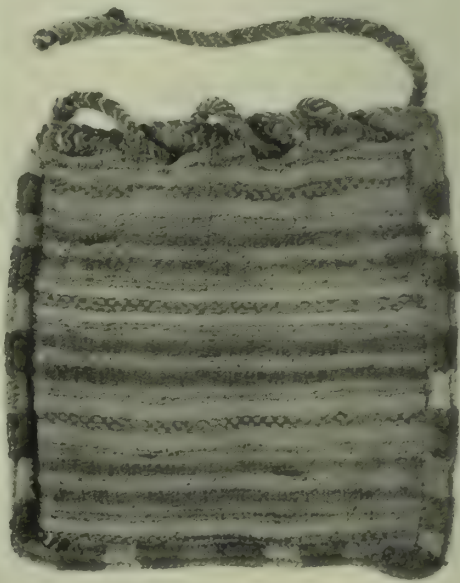
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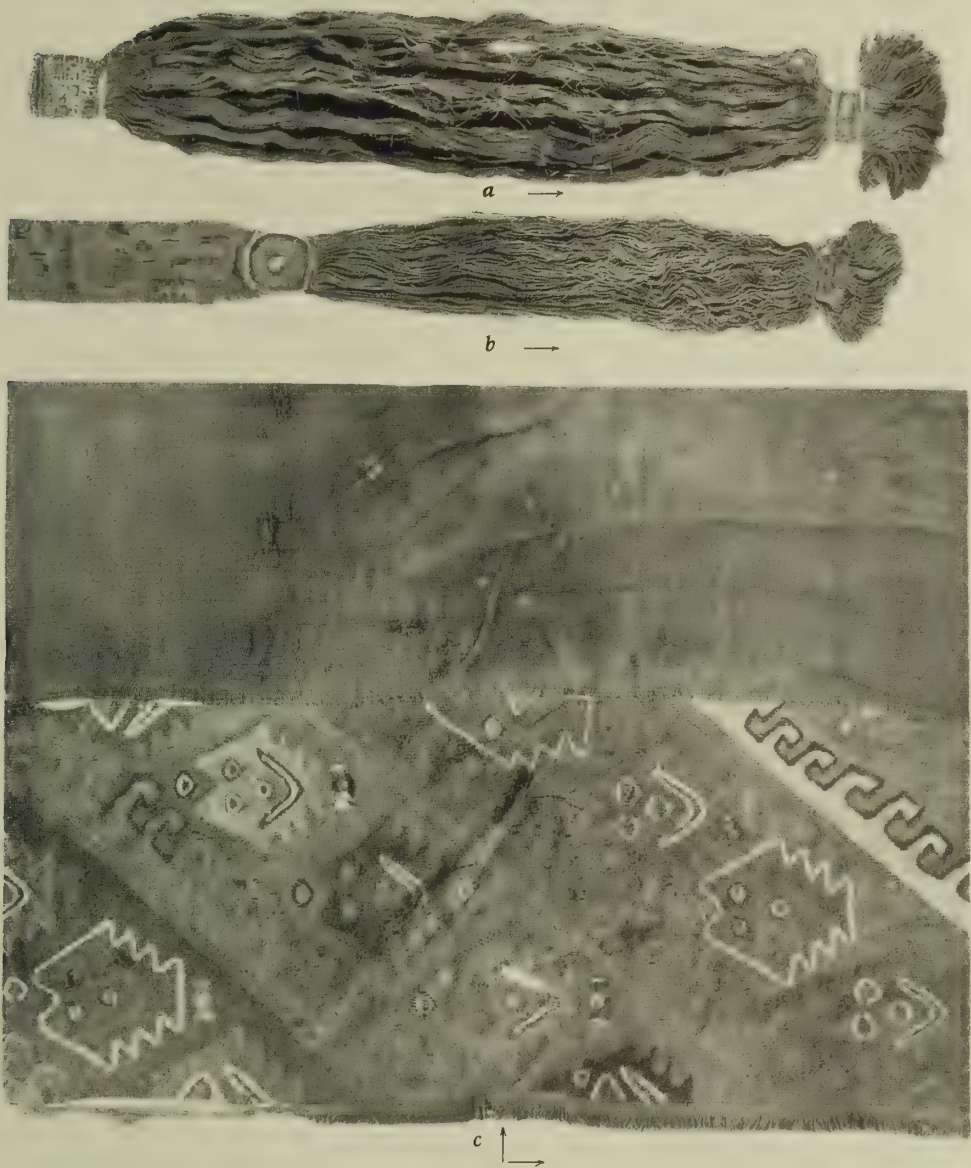


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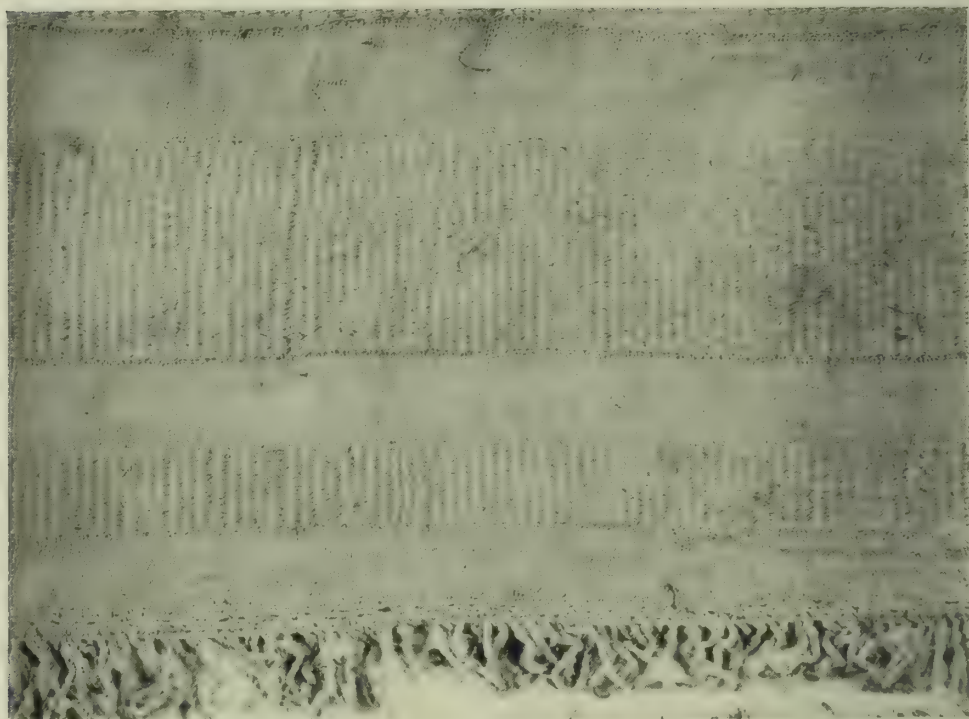
LATE CHINCHA. CHINCHA.



LATE CHINCHA. CHINCHA.



LATE CHIMU. CHANCHAN.



a ↑



b ↑



c ↑

LATE CHIMU. MOCHE.



LATE CHIMU. MOCHE.



LATE CHIMU. MOCHE.

BASIC TABLE: FREQUENCIES OF PROCESSES ACCORDING TO AREA AND PERIOD*

	Value	LATE AND INCA CULTURES								MIDDLE CULTURES						EARLY CULTURES				
		Chancho	Mochi	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho	Chancho
Number of Specimens		7	75	18	27	75	42	64	32	10	20	53	8	9	48	16	14	7	13	117
Yarns:																				
Wool only		2	53	8	5	49	18	16	3	3	8	11	1	5	8	13	8	2	5	40
Wool and cotton		11	22	4	2	6	29	10	3	8	8	5	1	3	21	2	1	1	8	40
Cotton and wool		5	11	8	18	24	18	19	19	7	4	37	6	1	19	1	4	4	37	
Warpweft Techniques																				
Plan weave, no. of specimens ^b		3	60	11	8	65	26	24	13	7	13	20	5	8	17	13	10	6	7	95
1 warp, 1 weft		3	57	11	8	28	16	24	9	4	13	12	5	6	16	2	8	6	7	91
1a. 2 warps, 1 weft																				
1b. 1 warp, 2 weft																				
1+ Interlocking warps, weft																				
Basket type																				
Tapestry, no. of specimens ^b		5	17	10	19	17	13	26	22	1	7	32	3	2	24	1	1			
Monochrome		4	16	6	16	7	3	3	3			4	1	1	7					
Kelim		4	3	6	12	12	6	2	3	1	4	3	1	1	7					
Eccentric		1	2	2	11	9	3	12	3	1	2	1	1	1	10					
Interlocking-weft manipulation																				
Underfloat weft																				
Single warps wound																				
Figure 8																				
Twill types																				
Double cloth																				
2 warps, 2 weft; variants																				
2 warps, 1 weft																				
Pattern weave, no. of specimens ^b																				
Single-face, underfloat warps																				
Single-face, underfloat weft																				
Double-face, 1 warp, 2 weft																				
Double-face, 2 warps, 1 weft																				
Warpweft weave																				
Single weft																				
Multiple weft																				
Game weave																				
Single-element Techniques																				
Half-hitching, coil without foundation																				
Netting, with knots																				
Knitting ^c																				
Plating: Braids, no. of specimens ^b																				
Round																				
Flat																				
Square																				
Platted finish of warps, basketry type																				
Twine-plaiting, "lace"																				
Weave-plaiting, cords																				
Superstructural Techniques																				
Brocade, no. of specimens ^b		3	5	1	2	20	4	2	2			4	4		2					3
Single-face		2	5	1	2	17	3	2	2			4	4		2					
Double-face		1				6	1	2	2						1					
Pile weave																				
Edge finishes, no. of specimens		3	40	1	3	15	5	10	13	2	2	5		13	3	2			4	16
Fringes																				
Applied		16	1	3			1	4	6		1	4		9		1			2	7
Warps left unwoven		17	9			3		1		2				2		2			2	6
Extra length weft		9				9					1			6		1			3	3
Tassels		2	10			5	5	8	12			4								
Stitchery:																				
Seaming, etc.																				
Whipping		4	40	8	4	38	8	13	10	3	2	11	2	12	5	1			1	26
Saddlers							1	4	6	3		3	1	1	5	2			1	4
Running		4				7	3	5	3	1	2	3	1	1	3	1				
Wrapping of core							2	2	4			2							2	2
"Warps" added to edge											1									
Embroidery, no. of specimens ^b		16				9	4	14	12	3		3	1	6	1	1	4		25	
Blanket		2						2	7					2						
Outline		2				1		1	1											
Needleknitting						3	3	11	4			3	1	1						
Coupling																				
Chain						2														
Figure-8		3								3										
Seaming stitches for embroidery		2				2	1	1						3					7	
Devices to Vary Effect																				
Yarn spinning:																				
Slack						2	3					3	1	7	4	14			2	9
Crêpe		5	57	9	5	50	7	1	13		1	2			1	1			3	
Two-tone																				
Structural, set-up of loom																				
Warp face, plain weave		10	1	1	20	12	12	3	5	8	3	5	8	11	1	3	1	3	25	
Drawing in for stripes, patterns		1	3	2	23	9	12	1	5	1	13	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	34	
Scaffolding weft for interlocking plain						2						1		1					2	
Scaffolding weft for shaping web						1						1		1						
Warp locking, end-to-end						1		1				1		1					5	
Tab formation								1				1		1					2	
Loom-joining of widths		1						3				1		1					3	
Spaced warps, fringes, netted effects						7	2												1	
Tubular construction								2												
Weft element manipulation																				
Color changes, cross stripes		3		3	11	9	4		1	1	1		2	2	2	2			8	
Weft grouping, for size		1	6	1	3	12	9	2	5	1	3	4	2	1	4	1			1	
Weft lock, tapestry					1	2	5	7	4	2	1	26	1	1	4	1			2	
Warp lock, tapestry								2	10		3	1	1	10					1	
Warp-weft lock, tapestry																				
Counterpairing							1		3											
"Facing" one color with another								5	4										3	
Double set of weft, plain weave						4														
Weaving techniques																				
Loose beating up						21	3		3		1	5	3	2	1	5	2		4	5
Wef-to-warp change																			1	
Padding yarns introduced							1	13	14			17	1						1	2
Kelim slot for neck opening		3				6		1												
Single-element manipulation																				
3-dimensional knitting																			1	11
Counterpairing, embroidery																				
Plaiting manipulation																				
Color variation in braids							2	5				4		1	1				1	1
Surface decoration																				
Painting		4				2														2
Tie-dyeing			1					1			1									1
Feather bands							1		2											

* Asterisks denote lots whose period is inferred—not determined by associational data obtained in excavations.

^b Frequencies of subvarieties of a process may total higher than the figure given for the process, because of co-occurrences in one specimen of several subvarieties. This is true especially of plain weaves and tapestries.

^c Totals include examples of 3-dimensional knitting, a subvariety differing only in shape.

THE GHOST DANCE OF 1870 IN
SOUTH-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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INTRODUCTION

During the latter part of the nineteenth century a messianic cult known as the Ghost Dance Religion and emanating from the Northern Paiute, was diffused among the Indians of the western United States in two distinct waves, one about 1870, the second about 1890. That the dead would return and peaceful and prosperous conditions be reestablished if the Ghost Dance were performed was the essential doctrine of both movements. The second movement, that of 1890, instigated by Jack Wilson (Wovoka), is well known for its far-reaching political and psychological effects upon native life.¹ Of the earlier movement which began in 1870, little is known save that it was originated by an older relative of Jack Wilson, who instituted the doctrine, dreams, and dances occurring in both phases of the cult, that its diffusion was largely westward into southeastern Oregon and California, that it sur-

¹ James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion, B.A.E. 14th Ann. Rept., pt. 2, 1896.

vived but four or five years at most, and was responsible for the revitalization of the Kuksu cult in north-central California. A large gap in our knowledge concerning the Ghost Dance of 1870 has been filled by Spier's detailed account of the movement among the Klamath of Oregon.²

The present paper deals with the Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes of south-central California, a region for which the dance has heretofore not been recorded. The material presented here was collected during field investigations for the Department of Anthropology of the University of California in the years 1925-1926. Conclusion of the work has been made possible through a Fellowship of the National Research Council and funds provided by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, for further field work during 1929.

During these field investigations it was disclosed that the Ghost Dance cult was known to all the peoples dwelling in the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada from Fresno river in the north to Kern river in the south and westward to and including the Tulare Lake area in the floor of the San Joaquin valley. The plains and eastern foothills of this great interior valley are occupied by peoples of one linguistic stock, Yokuts. A habitable strip of mountain territory bordering on the foothills is held by the Shoshonean speaking Western Mono.³

The purpose of this paper is threefold: (1) to record the occurrence of the dance in south-central California; (2) to trace the progress of its diffusion in the San Joaquin valley and probable diffusion to Pleasanton; and (3) to indicate the relation of the elements of the new cult to establish cultural forms.

The background of culture into which the 1870 Ghost Dance was introduced was fundamentally the same throughout the valley and foothills for both Yokuts and Western Mono: the special aspects of their culture which had a bearing upon the Ghost Dance rituals will be discussed in a later section. The inhabitants tended to group them-

² Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon*, Univ. Wash. Publ. Anthropology, 2:39-56, 1927. See also A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, B.A.E., Bull. 78: 868-873, 1925; *A Ghost Dance in California*, Jour. Am. Folklore, 17:32-35, 1904. The relation of the 1870 Ghost Dance movement to the Kuksu cult of north-central California has been pointed out by E. W. Gifford in his *Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies* (Am. Anthr., n.s., 29:214-236, 252-257, 1927) and *Miwok Cults* (this series, 18:393, 399, 400-402, 1926).

³ See Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 47.

selves about major watercourses and their affluents in loosely organized tribal units each having a distinguishing name, one to three chiefs, one or two major village sites, and speaking varying individual dialects. The social and political relationship between the majority of these tribes was a peaceful one. Some small wars or feuds went on among the tribes dwelling around Tulare lake and their valley neighbors to the north on the lower San Joaquin river. But by and large the normal life of all valley tribes was one of friendly social intercourse. Family feuds arising from a murder or the activities of a malicious shaman were as frequently intra-tribal as without the political unit.

The relationship between the Yokuts and the adjacent Western Mono tribes was no less friendly than among the Yokuts themselves. Along the entire line of cleavage between Yokuts and Mono, social events were attended by peoples of both linguistic stocks. Though cultural differences existed they had no bearing upon political and social affairs. A few tribes were actually composed of both Yokuts and Mono: such were the Michahai and Entimpieh with the balance in favor of Yokuts, and the Waksachi and Patwisha with a heavier admixture of Mono.

The relationship between the Yokuts and Eastern Mono was not friendly, neither was it openly hostile. It would seem that each people tolerated the other from economic necessity. The intercourse which existed was for commercial purposes only. The Monachi or Yo'ote as the Eastern Mono were called by the Yokuts⁴ yearly came west over the Sierra Nevada from Owens valley by established trade routes bringing salt, red paint, tanned deer skins, and other articles for trade, and receiving baskets, rabbit-skin blankets, acorn meal, and shell money in exchange. The Monachi traders, seldom remained longer than was actually necessary for the transaction of business, and never ventured west of the foothills where they would meet with a frankly hostile attitude. Thus the relation between Yokuts and Eastern Mono was merely one of toleration. It is said that at one of the large Ghost Dances which was attended by some Eastern Mono, the latter would feel the wrists of their partners. If the wrists were hard they knew they were Western Mono, but if soft, they belonged to Yokuts whom

⁴ The Yokuts did not refer to their Western Mono neighbors as Monachi but used their tribal names, Woaponuch, Waksachi, etc., as they did for themselves. In speaking of them to me they would add "they talk like the Monachi; they sound just like Chinamen."

the Eastern Mono would try to heckle into a fight unless they proved to be friends of Western Mono people.

The Western and Eastern Mono, however, were on definitely friendly terms. Yet the numbers of ultra-montane Mono at Ghost Dances were few: even this was unusual as no Eastern Mono were ever present even among the Western Mono for other rituals or social events. Genealogies bear out the statements of informants that there was practically no intermarriage between the peoples of the east and west sides of the Sierra Nevada.

Such were the intertribal social and political conditions in south-central California at the time of the introduction of the Ghost Dance of 1870.

THE GHOST DANCE IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

News of a new religious movement first came to the Western Mono and foothill Yokuts via the trans-Sierra Nevada trade routes. Little attention was paid to it. It was just news. There was no attempt at conversion of the valley people by the Eastern Mono traders, probably because of the non-social nature of the intercourse between them. Somewhat later, perhaps early in 1871, the Ghost Dance made its real entry into the San Joaquin valley directly from the Northern Paiute. A Paiute missionary came to a Western Mono group living on the North Fork of the San Joaquin river and preached the messianic doctrine. He found a receptive person in Joiyai, one of the North Fork chiefs to whose zeal was largely due the diffusion of the dance throughout the foothills to the south. On several successive occasions Joiyai went east into Nevada to learn the new songs and dances that were being made there by a Paiute named Mōman, who kept himself decorated with red paint.

After the introduction of the new faith among the North Fork Mono, Joiyai himself traveled about with one or two singers or sent messengers to the foothill Mono and Yokuts tribes as far south as Mill creek and Kings river to spread the news of the new cult. It was announced that a big dance would be held at Saganiu, a site in Joiyai's territory. Everyone was urged to attend. On this apostolic tour Joiyai visited the Kechayi and had with him there a Paiute who may well have been the original proselytizer of the North Fork Mono.

The first dance was held at Saganiu, in May presumably of 1871, for the last large dance north of the Kaweah river was that at Eshom

valley in the fall of 1872. The date of the Eshom valley dance is accurately fixed in the minds of the Indians as occurring during the same year as the most violent earthquake in their memories.⁵

The tribes which attended the dance at Saganu were the Chukchansi, Kechayi, Gashowu, Dumna, Entimbich Yokuts and perhaps others from Kings river, and Posgisa, Holkuma, and Woponuch (Wobonuch) Western Mono. Apparently people from the Kaweah river basin and south did not go to this dance *en masse* nor did they become interested in the new cult until its later diffusion by Woponuch converts.

From this introductory dance sponsored by Joijoi the Woponuch took up the messianic faith with enthusiasm. In the following weeks a group of Woponuch and Entimbich singers frequently went up to North Fork to learn the new songs and dances which Joijoi was getting from the Paiute. These singers then started on a tour. They made little dances in central sites among all the foothill tribes as far south as Tule river and among the plains tribes around Tulare lake. One of these dances was at Uplinao; people of Choinimni, Toihicha, Aiticha, and Wechihit tribes went to it. The next was at Diapnusha, attended by Waksachi, Wukhumni, Gawia, and Yokod. Another at Tule river introduced the cult to the Yaudanchi, Koyeti, Bankalachi, and perhaps others.

News of this dance was brought to the Bankalachi by Inolya, a Yaudanchi messenger; he went on to Bakersfield and Poso creek with his news. The Koyeti first heard of the faith through Wateilala, a Wakhumni messenger. The Tulare lake tribes, Wowol, Chunut, Telamni, and Tachi, went to a little dance made by the singers at Telweyit. The culmination of this diffusion of the Ghost Dance was the large dance held in Eshom valley in 1872. People from all the above tribes were present and former converts as well.

The visitors from the southern end of the valley were so imbued with the new faith that upon their return another large dance was planned and eventually held at Tule.⁶ Attendants at this dance came from as far north as the Kaweah river and from Fort Tejon in the south. Another dance was made a few months later at Kolpopo, a

⁵ This earthquake occurred March 26, 1872. Spier suggests that the earthquake mentioned in his account of the Klamath dance (*op. cit.*, 49) is the same. The context of his information was that it occurred in the winter of 1871-72.

⁶ Tule was a reservation established by the whites and was the popular center of the southern foothills for Indian gatherings at this time.

Paleuyami village. These dances occurred during the winter and spring of 1872-73.

My only informant from Fort Tejon moved to Tule along with several other families immediately after the big dance at Tule and so does not know of subsequent happenings in his old home. Since people from Fort Tejon attended the dance at Tule it is probable that news of the new religion eventually reached the Tokya (Chumash), but the fate of the cult beyond this point cannot now be determined.

Telamni on Pierce's ranchería near Visalia made a large dance after the Eshom valley dance but it ended in a drunken brawl. It was their only attempt.

News of the Ghost Dance may have penetrated to the Pitanisha and Kawaiisu, but no informant of the present day recalls anything about it.⁷

Apparently the messianic cult did not reach the Salinan⁸ west of the Tulare lake tribes. Friendly relations existed between them and the Tachi Yokuts, though perhaps for commercial rather than social purposes.

Local Ghost Dances were held every month or so at the more important villages throughout the foothills and valley for about two years after the first introduction of the cult; after this they were made with less and less frequency; finally only a few individuals continued to sing the songs in the privacy of their homes; by 1875 the Ghost Dance religion was completely abandoned. Ceaseless effort with the dancing and diligent adherence to rules of conduct had failed to bring back the dead. Disillusionment and discontent with disrupted social conditions brought the movement to a rapid decline.

It was perhaps due to this disillusionment that the Ghost Dance of 1890 failed to penetrate the same region as its predecessor. The 1890 wave must have had equal opportunities for diffusion into south-central California. It was taken up by Eastern Mono tribes⁹ who communicated to some extent with their linguistic relatives in the San Joaquin valley. No Yokuts or Western Mono informant recalls anything like a revival of the Ghost Dance at any time subsequent to the first wave. Apparently these tribes acquired an immunity to the Ghost Dance through their experience with the original messianic cult of 1870.

⁷ Theodore McCown, field notes, 1929.

⁸ J. Alden Mason, *Ethnology of the Salinan Indians*, this series, 10:97-240, 1912.

⁹ J. H. Steward, field notes, 1927.



Fig. 1. Map. Diffusion of Ghost Dance in south-central California.

PROBABLE DIFFUSION TO PLEASANTON

A word should be said in regard to the possible relation of the Ghost Dance movement of 1870 in south-central California to the revivification of the Kuksu cult at Pleasanton, California. About 1872 the dances of the old Kuksu or God-impersonating cult were revived at Pleasanton and diffused to the Southern Maidu and the Northern and Central Miwok by three native teachers. The sources and results of this movement have been fully analyzed by Gifford,¹⁰ and attributed by him to the Ghost Dance movement of 1870. There is no evidence in published material, however, to indicate how the Ghost Dance was diffused to this coast settlement.

Heretofore the only known entry of the cult into California was in the extreme northeastern part of California via the Modoc. The spread of the Kuksu form of the Ghost Dance in north-central California is known to have been from south to north, that is, from Pleasanton to Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Pomo. The presence of the 1870 Ghost Dance (which presumably gave rise to the Kuksu form) at Pleasanton has heretofore been explicable only by means of two conjectures, (1) that a wave of the dance progressed southward from the Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, etc., through the Wintun to Pleasanton and returned northward after being remodeled on the old Kuksu cult pattern; or (2) that the dance had a separate and more direct entry across the central Sierra Nevada via the Washo, Southern Maidu, or Northern Miwok.¹¹

The first conjecture seems not to be borne out by recent information from the field. Miss Cora DuBois finds that the Northern Wintun had two forms of the Ghost Dance, the earlier one (1870) having been introduced from the south by apostles from the Clear Lake Pomo.

That the Washo acted as transmitters of the Ghost Dance cult to middle California seems unlikely in the opinion of Dr. R. H. Lowie, who reports that though the cult was known to the Washo it made no impression upon them.

The occurrence of the Ghost Dance among the northern foothill Yokuts offers a third and equally plausible explanation of its presence at Pleasanton, that is, that the messianic doctrine was introduced at

¹⁰ Gifford, works cited.

¹¹ Kroeber, *Handbook*, 871, 872, fig. 71.

the coast settlement by northern valley Yokuts or Southern Miwok who had relatives and friends in the missionized Yokuts-Miwok-Costanoan group of Indians there. Since the original form of the Ghost Dance was known to all the Yokuts of the San Joaquin valley and perhaps to the Miwok as well, it seems unlikely that news of the cult should fail to reach their relatives at Pleasanton.¹²

Though we have no recent data on the matter it seems possible that the Miwok were as important a link in the diffusion of the Ghost Dance to Pleasanton as were the Yokuts. Stephen Powers who traveled among the California tribes during the years 1871-72 and 1875 mentions the presence of a "great orator and prophet," Old Sam, at Jackson, Calaveras county (Northern Miwok territory).¹³ The likelihood that this man was a Ghost Dance missionary is suggested by his "reforms," namely, painting the face instead of pitching the hair at mourning, implying that mourning was not necessary since the dead were to return, and substituting dances and dirges for the "cry" ceremony, the dances and dirges perhaps being the Ghost Dance itself. That Powers obtained only superficial information concerning this orator and missed the underlying motivation of his preachings seems not at all strange inasmuch as he was among Yokuts tribes while the dance was rampant and makes no mention of it save that "of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-around, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step."¹⁴ If Powers had at all understood or even heard of the messianic doctrine motivating the "grand walk-around," he could not well have made his oft reiterated statement that the Miwok and Yokuts believed in annihilation of the soul.

Though the Miwok may not have taken up the cult with the fervor of their neighbors to the south, they must have heard of it, for the first Western Mono to receive and accept the new religion were those of North Fork, directly east of the Southern Miwok.

¹² There are no known living representatives of the northern valley Yokuts tribes, so conjectures concerning these contacts cannot be verified.

¹³ Stephen Powers, *The Tribes of California*, Contr. N. Am. Ethn., 3:352, 353, Washington, 1877: "Shortly before I passed he [Old Sam] had introduced two reforms. . . . One was that the widows no longer tarred their heads but painted their faces. . . . The other was that instead of holding an annual 'cry' in memory of the dead they should dance and chant dirges.

"He . . . counseled them to live at peace with the whites, to treat them kindly, and to avoid quarrels whenever possible, as it was worse than useless to contend against their conquerors." He also advised economy with food.

¹⁴ Powers, *op. cit.*, 381.

We have then some reason to believe that the Ghost Dance of 1870, which revived the Kuksu cult at Pleasanton, was diffused there by Yokuts-Miwok transmitters.

THE DANCE AT SAGANIU¹⁵

The first Ghost Dance on the western slope of the Sierras, the one initiated by Joijoi, was held about May, 1871. The site selected, a high flat-topped hill overlooking the North Fork of the San Joaquin river was called Saganu. People came from all around. Those from south of the San Joaquin river had much difficulty in getting across: both Kechayi and Woponuch informants speak of this hardship.

The families of each tribal group camped together. The chiefs' messengers (winatum) looked after the organization of the camps and the food supply, announced the time for sleeping, cooking, eating, and dancing, and kept up the fires. It had been expected that Joijoi who was sponsoring the dance would provide food but the supply was not adequate for the crowds.¹⁶

Joijoi and a man named Kaka'i, whose tribal affiliation is not remembered by informants, walked about the camps preaching as they went. They said that the "father," Tuwawiya (a big spotted cat), who was the creator of the first world and brother of Coyote, was going to return, bringing with him all the dead. Those who had been cremated would be especially notable for they would be black. The people now living would soon again see all their dead relatives. Along with these predictions the preachers gave injunctions on behavior. They told everyone to have a good time but not to get angry with one another, not to indulge in flirtations, to be always amiable and forbearing, or they could not go to the father when he came. They said that the heedless would not be able to cross the shaking bridge on the road to the land of the dead but would fall off and be taken by a water monster. Those unwilling to dance would turn into a log of wood. There were doubtless other injunctions but these are all that the informants recall.

The dancing took place in the evening after supper, about six o'clock. First, Joijoi and a few men who had learned the dances gave a demonstration; then the assemblage joined. The ritual continued for six nights; the dancing took place at about the hours of seven, ten,

¹⁵ As described by Ellen Murphy, Kechayi Yokuts, and 'Merican Joe, Woponuch Western Mono.

¹⁶ See anecdote: First and last eating of dog meat, p. 72. .

and midnight with intervals for rest. After midnight all went to sleep and rose in the early morning to bathe. The eating of meat was not proscribed during the week of the ritual.

The dancers formed a circle, at times two or three concentric circles, depending on the number of participants, with men and women alternating. Each person clasped the hands of his neighbor, but without the fingers interlocked, and with forearms held upright so the hands



Fig. 2. Paint patterns worn by men and women at Ghost Dances as described by informants, *a*, Waksachi, *b*, Wukchumni, *c*, Choinimni, *d*, Hometwoli, *e*, Woponuch. Symbols: B = black, R = red, W = white.

were at shoulder level. The progress of movement was clockwise, with short steps to the left. The dress of the dancers differed: some wore "American" clothes, some women wore the old grass skirts or deer-skin aprons, some men wore cloth or deer-skin breech clouts. Everyone had his face painted. A new paint called wawun (Western Mono) of a bluish green color was brought to this dance by the Paiute. The Paiute also brought red paint but it was not new at this time. There were no special paint designs associated with the Ghost Dance cult: those persons who had totemic or moiety patterns used them, others put on any design they wished. The face paint patterns remembered by informants for this and other Ghost Dances in the valley are shown in figure 2.

A group of singers sat within the circle of dancers. They wore their customary feather headdresses (sema and teu, Yokuts) and used the elderwood hand-clapper for accompaniment.

The whole scene was illuminated by large fires within and without the circle.

At this dance at Saganiu, but not at subsequent dances, a pole was set up in the center of the dance space. A large bead-trimmed basket was fastened to the top of the pole: the "power" of the dancers was in the basket. The pole had power in curing those persons who were rendered unconscious because of their failure to heed the rules of good conduct. Thus a man who got angry because his wife was dancing next other men fell over in a rigid condition. If a person sat outside as a spectator and thought disapprovingly of the affair he was overtaken by the same rigidity. Such people were carried over to the pole and laid beside it. There Joijoi rubbed them with sage (kosidabi, Western Mono) until they regained consciousness. The pole was not climbed. Many people fell down from complete exhaustion. Although it was taught and believed that those who did not dance would die, no informant claims that any actual deaths occurred from non-participation.

On the sixth and last night of the Ghost Dance ritual at Saganiu, Joijoi, accompanied by two men and three women, disappeared while the multitude was dancing. Presently they reappeared dressed in much finery, intending to make the assemblage believe that they were the returning dead. Joijoi carried arrows in his hands. They all danced in a peculiar manner and took care not to come too near the camp fires. As they approached, the watchers became awe-stricken until one old woman whispered to her neighbor that she thought it was Joijoi. The word soon spread about and the company relaxed and resumed its dancing. There seems to have been no immediate displeasure when Joijoi's performance was disclosed as a hoax. The dancing continued throughout the sixth day. Then all the visitors returned to their homes.

THE DANCE AT ESHOM VALLEY¹⁷

The Ghost Dance held at Eshom valley in the fall of 1872 was instigated by the group of Woponuch and Entimbich singers who learned the songs of the cult from Joijoi after his dance at Saganiu.

¹⁷ As described by Sam Osborn, Michahai-Waksachi; Jim Britches, Wukchumai Yokuts; and Josie Alonzo, Chunut Yokuts.

The members of this group were: Tapunatei (Woponuch), who was their leader, Samson Dick, Yaki (Woponuch), Laotcu'i (Entimbich), Abawite (Woponuch), and Koiyewa (Woponuch). Tapunatei and Mōmuc (Entimbich) both preached the messianic doctrine. These men had a preliminary meeting at an Entimbich village, Kieheyu (now Dunlap, Fresno county), where they told the Entimbich chief, Takac (Captain Little George), and his brother Kocowi, a powerful shaman,¹⁸ that they wanted to hold a Ghost Dance to which all neighboring tribes would be asked. The chief was agreeable and Eshom valley was chosen as the place for the meeting. This spot was selected because of its central location in the lower mountains and its seclusion from the white settlers: the valley is deep, but with a level floor perhaps a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide, and has an excellent water supply and well timbered slopes abounding in game. A Waksachi village, Chitatu, occupied a low crest of ground at one end of the valley. After making these decisions, the Entimbich chief sent out his messengers to neighboring tribes, who in turn relayed the announcement of the coming dance to practically all the tribes living within the San Joaquin valley. In the meantime the group of singers went about spreading word of the returning dead and exhorting young and old to attend the forthcoming dance.

The Eshom valley Ghost Dance impressed all informants as a stupendous affair: in numbers of attendants and unflagging energy of prosecution it had never been equaled in this region. There were four or five hundred people present, most of them from tribes living between Kings and Tule rivers, but there were many representatives of tribes in the plains, as mentioned above. The visitors disposed themselves in the usual camp groups. Brush shades were erected for shelter. The messengers of the various chiefs looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing to it that hunters were dispatched and that their women relatives continued with the cooking. A Waksachi, Palaha (Bob Osborn) who owned some cattle, killed his steers and sold the meat in small portions under the direction of the messengers. But this source of food was soon exhausted and the multitude had to depend entirely on game and acorn meal.

¹⁸ Shamans ordinarily were not consulted in such matters; this case may be due to the fact that he was the chief's brother, that is, belonged to the chiefly lineage. The position of chief was hereditary on the paternal side; but all members of a chief's family were addressed as chief (tiya, Yokuts, poginape, Western Mono) though only one man in a given lineage was recognized as a functioning chief at any particular time.

The first evening that the encampment was organized and the ritual was to begin the assemblage was addressed by the Entimbich chief, Takac. He told the people why the meeting had been called, that certain men had come with important news which they wanted everyone to know about. Then Tapunatci spoke as follows:

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us of what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.¹⁹ After a few more years this dead man is going to come here from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at Watsataocao pa'a nim (the crack in the world our home, Michahai) to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games] and dancing [go on] all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (inil). You must do this all the time. There will be no more getting sick and dying."²⁰

Tapunatci also told the people to go in swimming or to bathe themselves every morning. There was no verbal ritual comparable to baptism at the bathing.

Mōmuc also addressed the people saying:

"God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they are now."²¹

The people were also admonished not to sleep during the night but to keep on dancing; only children were allowed to sleep. One girl "died" for about an hour because she fell asleep. She was carried to a fire and laid there; no one knows how she roused from her coma, as no one tried to revive her.

There was no center pole which manifested supernatural power at the Eshom valley dance. A few people "died" and came to life again, but informants do not know by what means. A girl "died" because she fought with her mother. She was restored to life but was regarded as crazy thereafter.

With the exception of the absence of the pole, the dance was practically identical with the earlier one at Saganiu. Dancers of both sexes assembled indiscriminately; they joined hands and circled to the

¹⁹ That is, presumably, in the Land of the Dead, presided over by the father Tuwawiya, where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trances and obtained the songs and doctrine of his cult.

²⁰ From Sam Osborn.

²¹ From Jim Britches.

left, facing inward.²² While the major movement of the dancers was to the left, a variation occurred now and then in which three steps to the right, then three to the left, were repeated three times. The dancers kept time with their joined hands, beating them downward from shoulder-level at each step. Some women kept their babies in cradles on their backs while dancing. They did not lock hands but held them back under the base of the cradle to keep it steady. The singing and dancing continued until the participants were exhausted. During intervals of rest, short exhortations would be delivered by Takac (the chief), Kocowi (a powerful shaman), Tapunatei, or some of the singers. There were no solo dances or trance demonstrations.

Shamans did not always take an active part in the dancing. More often they lay down under the shades, calling on their dream helpers. Their assistants would report from time to time on what the shamans heard from the supernatural world.

Within the double circle of dancers sat the singers dressed in their usual dance regalia and shaking elderwood clappers in time to their singing. Of the songs they sang little can be said. Informants remember only three, and the words to these are meaningless to them. They are:

- (1) he ba rin he ba ya he na ni (repeated indefinitely).
- (2) he na na ni na na ni (said to mean: I'm going to be "anything," snake, crow, stick, water, or anything).
- (3) oso oso oso wliham (repeated indefinitely).

Although the participants were admonished to refrain from anger, fighting, and erotic indulgences, there was no taboo on hilarity. Nor were food taboos observed. During the day people slept or entertained themselves by playing games and gambling. The singers spent most of their time practicing their songs.

The activity continued through six nights. At the close of the dance on the sixth night an additional ritual called the horse dance (kawayu kamin) was performed. Persons having horses rode them around inside the ring of dancers "just like a circus";²³ old horses were led about and were miraculously rejuvenated. One of the songs for the horse dance was:

ya a ya e hai ya kawayo
? horse

²² Dr. Spier reports to me that his statement (*op. cit.*, 48) that among the Klamath "a circle was formed of men, women, and children holding hands, moving in a counter clockwise direction with a short step to the left" is incorrect. The direction was counter clockwise stepping to the right.

²³ From Josie Alonzo.

After the dance at Eshom valley new converts made dances in their own localities, as the Telumni, Chunut, and Wowol at Pierce's ranchería, the southern foothill tribes at Tule and Kolopopo. The group of singers who sponsored the dance at Eshom valley led subsequent local dances. These were attended by people from near-by villages and tribes, as was normally the case for any dance. In this area between the Kings and Kaweah rivers the local dances continued for about a year, but were finally discouraged by Takac and other captains who had arrived at the conclusion that the efforts of the dancers were futile. Takac called his people together at Kicheyu and spoke to them on the matter: he called attention to the fact that in spite of their efforts people were still sickening and dying, that the people were neglecting their household and hunting duties and were exhausting themselves with over-exertion, that the dead had not returned, and concluded his speech by saying "if that man is coming, he'll come anyway."

ANECDOTES OF THE GHOST DANCE

The first and last eating of dog meat (told by Ellen Murphy, Kechayi Yokuts): The first Ghost Dance was attended by much hardship. In traveling north it was necessary for the Kechayi to cross the San Joaquin river. The river was high at this time of year (about May) and the people did not know how to cross. Finally a long rope of milkweed twine was made. The able swimmers swam the river and carried one end of the rope with them. The other end, on the south shore, was looped about a person who could not swim and he was pulled across by those already on the opposite shore. A good swimmer would then return with the looped end of the rope for the next person. Ellen had her first baby with her; it was less than a year old. She strapped its cradle tightly to her back and swam holding to the rope. Once the cradle loosened and slipped and the baby nearly drowned. A snake doctor, Chokonik, had rattlesnakes as supernatural helpers: as he crossed the river two rattlesnakes swam behind him all the way.

When they reached Saganiu, crowds of people were already there. The messengers went about telling people to put up some distinctive mark on their shades so they would recognize their own camp. Ellen had a pretty shawl which she hung out on her camp shade, but she got

lost anyway. There was a continual turmoil. A fight was going on over a woman: she had slept with a man just one night and on the second night they were quarreling. Several women attacked the man and mauled him about. The next morning his woman was very ill.

The chiefs exhorted the people not to get mad, because their father was coming. A woman who was skeptical about the prediction that one would die if one fought, quarreled with another woman to discover the effect. This woman did not die but she fainted the following morning and remained unconscious for a long time. Ellen does not remember anyone who turned into a log or actually died because they slept or did not dance, though it was believed that everyone had to dance or he would die.

After they had been at Saganiu two days the food supply began to give out. It had been expected that Joijoi would provide food for the entire week. We had attempted to do so, but the magnitude of the crowd was beyond all expectation. To help out in this difficulty some horses were killed. These did not last long; moreover, horseflesh was taboo to people who belonged to the Nutuwic moiety. The people were getting desperately hungry and angry and it was not yet time to end the dance.

They went two days without food. On the third day the men held a conference. Without telling their purpose they erected a large brush corral and ordered all the women into it. Not one woman was left out. They told them to keep quiet. They did not know what was going to happen. The dance manager (yateite) told them to be very still. Then the messengers ran about the camps catching all the dogs. They told everyone to give up his dog. Ellen's mother had a pretty little black dog in the corral with her; she tried to hide it under her skirt but a messenger saw her and pulled it away from her. One dog named Wu'isu'i²⁴ was smarter than the rest. He saw his companions being shot and piled upon the ground so he ran off to his home. He was the only dog that escaped.

The men took the dead dogs off to a distance so that the women would not see them being skinned. Soon a messenger came around and asked who was willing to eat dog meat. A few women said they could do it, so the messengers brought them pieces of meat from fat dogs. Ellen did not try it as it made her sick to think about it. Those

²⁴ Among the Kechayi all dogs belonging to people of the Tokeluwic moiety were called by this name.

who ate the meat did so after dark. They were so hungry they said it tasted pretty good. This was the first time that anyone had been known to eat dog meat, and it was never eaten again.

The next day the dance ended, and everybody went home.

Kumkum's death (told by 'Merican Joe, Woponuch Western Mono): Kumkum was Samson Dick's paternal grandfather. In his youth he had been an energetic, active man and a great traveler, hence his nickname, Kumkum (hummingbird). At the time Joijoi told them their father was coming to North Fork, the latter was too decrepit to make the trip or go anywhere. Everybody living at Kicheyu wanted to go to Saganiu, so they decided to leave Kumkum behind with plenty of food and water. Kumkum told them that when they returned he would not be there, that he was going to die, that something was going to eat him, and that there would be deer tracks all around the place where he had been. Deer was his supernatural helper.

Over at another village, Pagipu, there was "an old lady who was all wore out." She said she "wasn't good for anything" and wanted to die. She told the boys to go dig a grave and bury her alive "because I'm nearly dead anyway." She told her people not to cry for her, "You are going to see your father and I'll be doing just the same." So they dug her grave, which was the first in the present Indian cemetery at Dunlap, and buried her just as she had directed.

Then all the people from Kicheyu and Pagipu started off for North Fork. When they came to the San Joaquin river it was so high that only the best swimmers dared try to cross. The people camped on the south side of the river while some men made a long rope of milkweed twine. Then one end of the rope was fastened to a tree, while the other end was carried across the river by a strong swimmer. That end was fastened to another tree so the rope swung about a foot above the surface of the water. Those people who could swim across did so or helped themselves with the rope. Those who could not swim had a length of rope looped loosely around them and the suspended rope; thus they pulled themselves hand over hand across the river. Little children and camping paraphernalia were put in large flat-bottomed, water-tight baskets, customarily used for this purpose. They floated on the water and were pushed across by two or three swimmers.

Now after the dance was made at Saganiu the father failed to appear. The people were dissatisfied for they had sacrificed much of their property to make the trip. Some had come from Tule river,

over one hundred and fifty miles to the south. People living along the route traveled had lost goods through maraudings of the pilgrims. Many others had lost their old people, like Kumkum and the old lady at Pagipu. Kumkum was dead when his people returned, and there were deer tracks all around him just as he had predicted.

Then two chiefs, Teakono and Tulin, from Tule river region, got their doctors to make a new kind of poison called tigi'dedan (Western Mono) which they sold to people so they could kill each other almost like shamans. The chiefs up here said that if the persons doing the killing could be discovered they should be killed just like bad shamans, but at the same time they warned their people not to kill a suspect unless they were sure he was guilty.

Then white people and whiskey came and everyone began getting drunk. The poisoning went on worse than ever. The white people have stopped that now.

ANALYSIS OF CULT AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

At the time of the introduction of the Ghost Dance, the existing social organization in Yokuts and Western Mono culture was peculiarly suited to the exigencies of collective ceremonials such as the Ghost Dance demanded. The difficulties which resulted from the huge Ghost Dance gatherings were due to the unprecedented magnitude of the affairs rather than to an inefficient social order. Ceremonies with attendants from various tribes were nothing new. The audience and at least a few performers at all dances were from tribes adjacent to the host tribe. The distance from which visitors came depended entirely upon the size and importance of the affairs.

No public ritual could be given without permission from the local chiefs. Upon their consent announcements were sent out twelve days in advance of the event. The chief's official messengers carried the news; they were paid for their services. Thus it was that the Woponuch singers asked Takac's permission to hold the Ghost Dance at Eshom valley, and news of the cult was spread about by the established messenger system.

At all dances the host group was expected to provide food for the visitors. When a large gathering was planned the guests brought quantities of food with them, but for this they were paid either at the time of invitation or after their arrival at the dance. At the Ghost

Dance at Saganiu, Joijoi attempted to supply the food but the people were too many. The selling of steer meat under the supervision of the messengers, which occurred at Eshom valley, was similar to the normal custom of guests bringing venison, ground squirrels, acorn meal, and other foodstuffs to a dance and receiving pay for it.

It was the special duty of the messengers to direct social proceedings throughout a ceremony. They welcomed the arrivals and told them where to camp. Each day they saw to it that wood and water were provided, called out the time to get up and to cook meals, and distributed food where it was needed. They also kept up the fires which illuminated the evening assemblies.

When it was time for the ceremonies to begin the messengers called the people together. Then the captain of the host group addressed them; he told them why the ceremony was being held, what it was to be, and usually concluded by telling them to "have a good time." Thus the usual procedure is evident in informants' descriptions of the Ghost Dances at Saganiu and Eshom valley.

The ritual number of both Yokuts and Western Mono groups is six. Mourning, jimsonweed, and girls' puberty ceremonies lasted six days; other ritual and mythological references to the number occur. The Ghost Dance ceremonies were always a six-day affair, whereas the sacred and ritual number of the Northern Paiute is five.²⁵

The practice of bathing every morning was customary with all foothill people. It had a salutary effect, especially in the acquisition of supernatural power by both shamans and laymen. A boy or girl approaching puberty was roused from sleep and made to swim three times during the night for six days, usually in the coldest months. This was supposed to give them a long life as well as harden their characters. Water was venerated and regarded as immortal.

Playing games during the day was customary at dances, but taboo during the mourning ceremony except on the last day, which was one of rejoicing. Games were, of course, an integral part of daily life.

Painted patterns were used as face and body decorations in most dances and rituals. Whether or not all such patterns had totemic reference is not ascertainable: the specifically totemic designs recalled by informants are few; other designs are described as meaningless. Among the Wukchumni Yokuts at least, women dancing with doctors in non-religious dances wore the pattern shown in figure 2*b*, which

²⁵ R. H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap.*, 20:295, 1924.

was one of the common patterns at the Ghost Dances. It may be that this and other patterns were purely decorative and hence were available to any participant in the Ghost Dance without regard to his lineage.

It is seen that thus far the social background and certain ritual elements of the Ghost Dance as executed at Saganiu and Eshom valley were entirely in consonance with established procedure at intertribal celebrations. The social system of the Yokuts and Western Mono was a perfect vehicle for the introduction of a new cult demanding collective participation.

Furthermore, there are in the Yokuts-Mono Ghost Dances certain elements which are plainly derived from established concepts concerning the dead and life after death. These concepts are formulated in their tale of a man's trip to the land of the dead, which in brief is as follows:²⁶

A man's good wife dies; he wants to get her back. He waits on her grave for two nights. On the third she rises and starts traveling northwestward. Her man follows her. In the daytime she either disappears or turns into a log of wood. The man waits on the spot and follows her again at night. After traveling three nights they reach a great expanse of water. Over it stretches a narrow, quaking bridge which it is dangerous to cross. If one falls off it one turns into a fish or is taken by a water monster. Only persons of character succeed in crossing. On the other side is the land of the dead. It is ruled by a chief, the "father," called Tipiknits (Yokuts) or Tuwawiya (Western Mono). The dead people are visible and active only at night when they have a fine time gambling, dancing, and playing games. The red clouds of the sunset are their red paint (Chunut Yokuts). When the couple arrives the woman goes to her relatives' camp while the chief interviews her husband. The chief tells the man he may not stay there but may take his wife back home if he can remain awake all night. The couple lie down and spend the night laughing and talking. At daybreak the man is overpowered by sleep. He wakes to find a log of wood in his arms. The chief offers the man a second and last chance. But that night brings the same result. (A favorite variation is that the couple start home at once but break continence on the way, the woman again turning into a log.) Discouraged the man returns home. The chief had told him to hide for six days, then make a dance and tell all that has happened to him. But the man's presence at home is disclosed on the fifth day. He makes the dance anyway, tells all that happened on his journey, and dies immediately after.

²⁶ The tale is ubiquitous in south-central California; versions of it occur among the Southern Maidu and Miwok (A. L. Kroeber, *Myths of South Central California*, this series, 4:175, 188, 216, 228, 1907), the Luiseño (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, B.A.E., Bull. 78:625, 1925), and the Salinan (Mooney, *op. cit.*, 195).

The concepts common to this tale and the Ghost Dance are: (1) a "father" or chief and the host of the dead; (2) the unsteady bridge to the land of the dead; (3) that people of character only may get across or meet the "father"; (4) that one must not sleep; (5) transformation into a log of wood. There seems no reason to doubt that the tale is an old one in the San Joaquin region and that the concepts of the dead and the country of the dead which appear in the Ghost Dance are interpretations from it. The story as it is told, and was learned by informants from their elder relatives, is always localized in their own tribe. The "father" of their folktale, who functions as the messiah in the Ghost Dance, figures elsewhere in Yokuts-Mono mythology as the creator of the present world who departed to make a home for dead people after he had completed this one for the living. In Western Mono versions he is identified as a large, spotted cat (jaguar ?, not wild cat), the elder brother of Coyote, in Salinan²⁷ and some Yokuts versions as a person unrelated to the animals. A Hometwoli Yokuts informant identified the "father" of the messianic cult with Tohil, eagle, the most powerful of supernatural beings in Yokuts mythology.

In all versions of the folktale the land of the dead is invariably placed in the northwest, whereas in the Ghost Dance the "father" was said to be in the east. This may be a Northern Paiute conception, or may be due to the eastern provenience of the news of the messiah.²⁸

The notion that one must not sleep when dealing with the supernatural is a precept which appears not only in the Ghost Dance and in this folktale, but also in rules governing the acquisition of supernatural power through dreams. On receiving a dream from an animal helper, one must not go back to sleep that night or the dream and consequent powers would be withdrawn.

There were, however, other features of the Ghost Dance that varied from the San Joaquin norm. The first was the continuance of dancing throughout the night. With the exception of the final night of the annual mourning ceremony, dances ordinarily began about four in the afternoon and lasted until nine or ten, seldom as late as midnight. Secondly, both Yokuts and Mono custom demands strict abstinence from meat during ceremonies that have a religious or emotional significance, such as mourning or jimsonweed rituals, or during the private

²⁷ J. Alden Mason, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Spier found a similar discrepancy in the Klamath interpretation, *op. cit.*, 54.

ritual for acquiring supernatural power. Yet this taboo was not observed during the Ghost Dances. Thirdly, the restoration of unconscious persons by Joiioi, a chief, rather than by shamans, was quite atypical.

It may be that the first variation mentioned has some reference to beliefs about the Land of the Dead, since the Ghost Dance was so much concerned with the return of its inhabitants. It was believed that the dead were active only during the night; in the daytime they disappeared. Thus a ritual in the real world which would be effective upon the ghosts would logically have to take place during their period of existence, that is, throughout the night.

The absence of the meat taboo leads one to believe that the Ghost Dance did not have a deeply or awesomely religious significance for the Yokuts and Mono in spite of their fervid participation.

Another feature, which was in opposition to established custom, was the non-payment of the singer accompanists. That singers performing at any public function should go unpaid was without precedent. At the Ghost Dance their subsistence was provided, no more. The Woponuch and Entimbich singers who learned the songs of the cult from Joiioi were professional. A group of such singers accompanied all dances and ceremonies, always being invited to perform and often being summoned from a distance if they were especially talented. In the case of the Ghost Dance their services and tour for its introduction must have been due entirely to missionary zeal.

The dream or visionary aspect of the Ghost Dance, as it occurred among the Klamath, Maidu, Miwok, and Pomo,²⁹ was absent or entirely negligible in the San Joaquin valley. No informant mentions the acquisition of songs or supernatural power through visions during the ritual. Though many persons became comatose, as described above, the condition seems to have been attributed entirely to their misdemeanors: the trances were punishments, rather than sublime states sought for religious purposes. The orthodox religious system of both Yokuts and Mono was based upon the acquisition of powers through dreams of animal helpers. Such dreams came during normal sleep; they were not trance-like nor were they comparable to the narcotic visions induced by jimsonweed. Any person who wished to acquire supernatural power could do so by paying attention to his dreams.

²⁹ Spier, Gifford (works cited), and Edwin M. Loeb, Pomo Folkways, this series, 19:149-405, 1926.

Falling into a trance to visit the spirit world of the dead is a practice of Shoshonean shamans³⁰ not indulged in by Yokuts-Mono doctors. Why the visionary aspect of the Ghost Dance was so ignored in the Yokuts-Mono area is not clear. The absence of this esoteric feature is further indicated by the fact that no reference is made to ghosts, spirits, or dreaming in native names for the dance. It is called the "round" or "going round" dance throughout the San Joaquin valley.³¹

Apparently the only persons who entered into contact with the spirit world during the Ghost Dance performances were the shamans. Even they may have been communing with their animal helpers rather than the ghosts of the returning dead.

The political factor involved in the encouragement of the Ghost Dance among the Klamath and Pomo by their chiefs,³² i.e., that chiefs were rising in power and used the new cult as a means of suppressing shamanistic activities, does not occur in south-central California. Though the chiefs in this region had few defined duties and powers, such as they were they went unquestioned. And far from being at odds with shamans the chiefs had their cooperation in many of their political schemes. Evidence of the harmony between chiefs and shamans in the Ghost Dance appears in our account of the dance at Eshom valley: Kocowi took active part in preaching the doctrine; other shamans "listened" for news from the supernatural world. That shamans were not called to restore unconscious Ghost Dance participants was certainly abnormal, but in this case it is merely to be regarded as a feature of the Ghost Dance system without any bearing upon native political conditions.

What the relations were between the Indians of the San Joaquin valley and the white population of 1870 is not clear from native accounts. The statement of one informant that "after that the white man came" leads one to believe that the number of white settlers before that time was negligible. The Indians of the San Joaquin plains were the first to suffer loss of life, lands, and hence economic liberty; those living in the foothills where the Ghost Dance was first introduced were as yet scarcely disturbed. Villages on the upper Kaweah, Kings, and San Joaquin rivers were continuing the old life in the childhood of my older informants, i.e., about 1855-1875. Even

³⁰ Lowie, *op. cit.*, 294, 295.

³¹ See appendix.

³² Spier, *op. cit.*, 44.

so the natives may have been disconcerted by the white man's continued approach. No informant will admit that the messianic faith had any reference to the presence of the white people, much less that hostile intentions toward the whites lurked beneath the Ghost Dance activities. Whether or not this was so can scarcely be proved now. Certain it is that the few local settlers in the region of Eshom valley became hysterical over the large assembly there; they regarded it as of hostile intent and immediately sent alarms to valley towns for armed assistance. It is due to this misinterpretation that the Ghost Dance is referred to in colloquial white and Indian parlance as the "war" dance. Said one informant, "The Paiutes have a war dance and the white people thought this was it, but that dance is called war dance and this [Ghost] is the round dance."

The abandonment of the Ghost Dance was not due to pressure exerted by the white population but rather to disillusionment. The closing words of Takac's address were quite in keeping with the philosophical outlook of the Yokuts-Mono mind. Their past life was a singularly pleasant and placid one. They were not ridden by a mass of superstitious fears as are many primitive peoples. There were few taboos; no religious office or supernatural function was imposed on anyone who did not want it. Individuals went about their daily lives following the simple rules of their religious and social order without burdening themselves with taboos and privations, believing that if the supernatural powers wished to help them they would. The same attitude is expressed in the resolution of their feelings toward the messianic cult. Exhaustive efforts to bring back their "father" and their dead relatives had proved to be futile, hence, give it up—"if that man is coming, he'll come anyway."

SUMMARY

The course and process of the diffusion of the Ghost Dance from the northern Western Mono through the San Joaquin valley has been indicated in the foregoing pages. The messianic cult was introduced on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada at North Fork. Owing to the zeal of one man, Joijoi, the faith was diffused to the south where Woponuch and Entimbich singers in turn transmitted it to Yokuts of the plains and southern valley. The fate of the dance beyond Fort Tejon is unknown at present.

The process of acculturation is evident from our detailed account of Ghost Dances at Saganiu and Eshom valley. Analysis of the social background into which the new cult was thrust indicates that the social process involved in holding the dances, i.e., with the chiefs' permission, supervision of camps by messengers, etc., was entirely in the order of the established system for intertribal ceremonials. Several features of the Ghost Dance doctrine were interpreted in terms of extant cultural forms: the "father" identified as the creator, the land of the dead that of the "Orpheus" myth, bathing in the morning, use of standard paint patterns, six-day duration of ritual, transformation into a log, and taboo on sleep. Analogous acculturations are found among the Klamath and in northwest California.³³

The doctrine of the Ghost Dance which promised the return of dead relatives, absolution from sickness and death, a continuous life of peace and prosperity, is ubiquitous in its human appeal. This, together with the fact that the cult had no complex features of belief or intricate taboos and was open for collective participation, made it uniquely suitable for a rapid diffusion regardless of the type of culture encountered in its travels. The framework and stimulus of the revivalistic cult were supplied, the details were filled in according to the individual taste of varying culture patterns.

APPENDIX: INFORMANTS AND NAMES OF THE DANCE

The tribe, name, and approximate age of informants contributing to this paper are as follows:

Yokuts: Bankalachi: Frank Manuel, 65; Choinimni: Pony Dick Watun, 70; Chunut: Josie Alonzo, 65; Dumna: Bill Wilson, 90; Hometwoli: Big Jim Alto, 75; Kechayi: Ellen Murphy, 70; Koyeti: Dick Francisco, 80; Paleuyami: Martha Alto, 70; Tachi: Mollie Garcia, 80; Wukchumni: Jim Britches, 70.

Western Mono: Waksachi: Sam Osborn, 65, Bob Osborn, 75; Woponuch; Joe Waley, 80, 'Merican Joe, 80.

Native names for Ghost Dance.—Chunut, Tachi, Telamni, Wowol (?): soto'twi kam, going-around dance.

Chunut: hi'tiht'wi kam, drag-the-feet dance. (This because people got so tired they could not lift their feet.)

Dumna, Gashowu, Kechayi: soiwe kam, round dance.

Hometwoli, Koyeti: soto'twiya hatim, going-around dance.

Michahai: kaman soiwe, dancing, round.

Wukchumni, Yaudanchi: soto'towid kam, to be going around dance.

Waksachi: nigat dama, ? dance.

Woponuch: naho'a manai'igan, round dance.

³³ Spier, *loc. cit.*; A. L. Kroeber, A Ghost Dance in California, Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, 17:32-35, 1904.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE YUMA INDIANS

BY

C. DARYLL FORDE

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PREFACE

The Yuma at the present time occupy a reservation on the west bank of the Colorado at the confluence of the Gila, immediately north of the International Boundary. This land includes the greater part of the territory occupied by them in the period of Spanish exploration, so that they have suffered little direct disturbance. This territory was, however, allotted before the development of the Imperial valley irrigation scheme, which has since transformed the eastern part of the reservation. While the extensive fertilizing floods, remarked by the Spanish explorers, have been reduced by the construction of Laguna dam and riverine dykes, the passage of a main distribution canal across reservation territory and the construction of branch and distributary canals which have equipped it for modern irrigation, have greatly enhanced the economic value of their land.

With the establishment of ginneries on the reservation, cotton growing has been developed on the irrigable land, but the Indians have

taken little advantage of these developments and have frequently leased their allotments to white operators, relying themselves on casual employment.

Participation in irrigation agriculture and the close proximity of the town of Yuma across the river have given the Yuma a measure of prosperity and sense of self-respect and importance which is all too rare among reservation Indians. This unusual degree of assimilation has, however, resulted in a rapid disappearance of native crafts, so that, although the sense of tribal solidarity is remarkably strong, American culture has penetrated deeply into their material life. Pottery, basketry, and native weaving are virtually extinct. The aboriginal cultivation has necessarily been supplanted and the social organization of former times has largely disappeared.

The ceremonial and religious life of the people has, nevertheless, suffered little disturbance and is at present practically unaffected by the thin veneer of methodism and catholicism which compete for their adherence in the missions at Fort Yuma.

The Yuma reservation was visited in December-January, 1928-29 and again in September and December, 1929. In connection with the work I wish to thank Mr. E. W. Gifford, who accompanied me in 1928 to study the neighboring Kamya; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, for much advice based especially on his knowledge of the culturally related Mohave; and Dr. H. E. Bolton, who has kindly given me access to his manuscripts and commentaries of the Anza expeditions which traversed the Yuma territory in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

For financial assistance I am indebted to the University of California, the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, the Southwest Society of New York, and the Commonwealth Fund of New York.

The simpler phonetic system of the American Anthropological Association¹ has, in general, been followed in the transliteration of native speech. The following summary and notes may be of service.

a as in father	â as in but
ē as in fate	e as in met
ī as in pique	i as in pin
ō as in note	o as in not
ū as in rule	u as in put
ø as in idea (obscure)	

¹ Sapir, 2-7.

The short $\check{a}$ as in *hat* was not heard. The open $\bar{e}$ is not as wide as in the English equivalent *give* above. The long $\bar{u}$ is relatively unrounded as compared with the English in *rule*. $\acute{a}$ is very common; it frequently appears to have an *e* quality but when slowly enunciated approaches *a*.

The stops (*p, b; t, d; k, g; and q, g*) tend to be intermediate throughout; when spoken slowly they are probably sonant at the occlusion, but surd during the expulsion of breath. They have usually been written with the surd symbols. Palatalized *k* (*ky*) is frequent.

Nasals are bilabial and dental, *m* is frequently sustained (*m̄*). The palatal $\tilde{n}$ as in *ring* was rarely heard except in songs. Palatalized nasals, especially *ny* as in the English, *new*, are frequent.

Spirants are:

- v* sonant bilabial as in *Spanish*
- δ sonant interdental as in *though*
- c* prepalatal as in *shine*
- s* surd sibilant as in *sing*
- x* surd palatal as in German *ich*

An affricative $d\delta$ was frequently heard. *r* is sonant and trilled.

Both the surd and sonant laterals, *l* as in *light* and *L* as in *Llewellyn*, occur.

Aspiration when weak is indicated by $'$, when strong by *h*.

- $'$ glottal stop
- $'$ accent (placed after the vowel)
- a'* indicates greater length of sound
- a:* indicates exceptional length of sound

I am greatly indebted to the following informants for their services during the course of my field work. My general interpreter, Mr. Patrick Miguel, actively cooperated with the work throughout.

	Born ²	Age in 1929
Manuel Thomas	1842	89 years
Joe Homer	1869	60 "
Stephen Kelly	1870	59 "
Patrick Miguel	1877	52 "
Lincoln Johnson	1879	50 "
Mrs. Hipa Norton	1863	66 "
Mrs. Xavtea'ts Roosevelt	1870	59 "

² According to the Agency Records. These dates may in some instances be approximations. Wherever one informant is more particularly responsible for an account his name is given.

Since the material culture was known to have followed the Mohave pattern and is at the present time decayed and adulterated by white influence, my attention has been devoted primarily to social, ceremonial, and religious practice. I have, however, endeavored to give a balanced, if incomplete, picture of the culture as it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

When first encountered the Yuma were one of a large group of peoples occupying the bottom lands of the lower Colorado from the Needles, California, to the gulf of California. The aboriginal population of this region was, exclusive of the higher cultures of Middle America, probably as dense as any in the New World. This concentration of people depended, however, on no great elaboration of material civilization but rather on fortunate environmental circumstances, which a crude agriculture and moderate industry in the collection of wild fruits were able to exploit with relatively little effort. The life of the Lower Colorado tribes, despite their desert environment, was less arduous than that of the Basin gatherers or the hunters of the Plains, while their economic security was probably as great as among the Pueblo peoples.

Relatively undisturbed in Spanish and Mexican times the Yuma maintained their aboriginal culture almost unchanged until the fifties of the last century, when the establishment of the caravan trail to Southern California terminated their freedom. By the eighties they had been gathered on a reservation, had adopted white men's clothing, and had begun to work as laborers in the neighboring town established on the Arizona border. Although the greater part of their religion and non-material culture has been preserved up to the present time, American control and changed economic circumstances have extinguished their tribal organization, obliterated the old settlements, and above all, ended the constant warfare which they practiced.

The Yuma call themselves *kwâtea'n*, a true tribal name distinct from the term for man (*ipā*) or people (*pī'pa*). The native etymology derives it from an incident in the creation myth. The Yuma took a special trail down from the top of *avikwame'*. This was *xam kwâtea'n* ("another going down"), so they took the name *kwâtea'n*.

The origin of the term Yuma is doubtful. The statements that it was derived from terms for "son of the chief" or "sons of the river,"³ were always improbable⁴ and have been disproved by inquiries. Ten Kate⁵ was informed by the Pima that their native name for the Yuma was Yum. This was confirmed by A. L. Pinart, a resident among the Papago, in a letter to Gatschet⁶ in which he stated that the Pima would call both a Yuma and a Comoye'i (Kamya and (?) Diegueño) man *i'-um o'-otam*; the Papago, according to his information, call both the Yuma and the Maricopa "Yum" while an "Apache-Mohave" (Yavapai) whom he questioned also used the term "Yuma" and did not know the term "kutchan." Heintzelman, 1854, apparently used the word "Yum" in reference to the Kamya alone ("New River Indians"), calling the Yuma "Kuchan."⁷ Without some investigation of the occurrence and associations of the term "Yum" among the Pima, Papago, and other tribes, the question cannot, however, be considered settled. The Spaniards were already using the term Yuma in the eighteenth century and it still remains possible that they introduced it among the Pima and others where it supplanted earlier usage.

THE LOWER COLORADO REGION

The Colorado, emerging from its narrower gorges about sixty miles south of the great bend which forms the Arizona-Nevada boundary, flows in its lower course through a longitudinal oasis created by the annually flooding river and is flanked on either side by barren ranges whose festoons segment the valley into a series of broad flood plains, some twenty-five miles in width, connected by narrow canyons. A few miles below the final constriction at Yuma, where the river has cut a narrow gorge across a low conglomerate spur, the muddy waters forsake a single channel and splay out over the great alluvial fan of the delta which extends sixty miles south from Yuma to the present gulf head⁸ (map 2).

³ Whipple in Schoolcraft, 2, 115.

⁶ Gatschet, 97-98, 1886.

⁴ Cf. Gatschet, 381, 1877.

⁷ Heintzelman, 36.

⁵ Ten Kate, 356.

⁸ The ancient gulf extended into and included the present Imperial Valley now separated by a geologically recent uplift, which has converted the valley into an enclosed basin into which the Colorado has flooded to produce the Salton Sea. The most recent incursion of the river occurred in 1905-7, since when channels along the western side of the delta have been maintained (cf. Cory, H. T., Imperial Valley and the Salton Sink, and Kniffen, F., Colorado Delta, MS).

In both its valley and delta courses the river flows over a deep alluvium and is nowhere at bed rock. Bluffs, some fifty to a hundred feet in height and varying in distance from a few hundred yards to several miles from the thalweg, border the valley and mark the limit of the flood plain.⁹

The Colorado is fed from a catchment area of somewhat more than a quarter million square miles, but much of this is semi-arid and the lower affluents contribute little to the flow. Apart from occasional floods on the Gila in February and March, the river does not rise appreciably until May or reach a maximum before the end of June. The waters of western Colorado are then pouring into the main stream to produce a flood of about 80,000 second feet as compared with the low water average of about 13,000 second feet. The flood rises slowly and irregularly, sometimes in a succession of peaks with falls between, from the end of April onward. The maximum flow and total run-off vary considerably from year to year, rising occasionally to between 150,000 and 200,000 second feet for a day or so but failing, in some seasons, to produce an appreciable flood.¹⁰ The siltload of the Colorado is extraordinarily heavy, the ratio being far higher than that of the Mississippi or the Nile¹¹ and an annual burden of over a million tons is spread over the river and delta flats.

Under aboriginal conditions the greater part of the river plain and upper delta was normally flooded every year. Since precipitation is almost negligible under the conditions of intense summer heat and low humidity,¹² the flooded land presented the strongest contrast with the sandy and stony deserts above the bluffs which limited the flood waters, and today, despite the transformation of modern irrigation, the contrast between "mesa" and "valley" is outstanding (map 2). On the mesas creosote bushes, cacti, and occasional desert willows and ironwood trees are scattered sparsely over the waste of sand, gravel, and boulders, but the vegetation of the lowlands is luxuriant and often approaches jungle. Dense groves of cottonwood (*Populus macdougalii*), willow (*Prosopis velutinea*), mesquite (*P. pubescens*), and

⁹ Cf. Lee, W. T., 66 ff.

¹⁰ Data obtainable from the Yuma Gauge station, U. S. Reclamation Service; cf. also U.S.G.S. Water Supply Papers 395 and 556 quoted by Kniffen, MS.

¹¹ See Collingwood, C. B., 7; and Reichel and Leitr, quoted by Kniffen, MS.

¹² Average annual precipitation at Yuma is 3.42 inches, but varies considerably from year to year, e.g., 1904, 1.43 inches; 1905, 11.41 inches; mean Jan. temp. 54.4° F; mean July temp. 91.0° F (76.6–105.4 mean min. and max.); mean annual relative humidity at noon 27 per cent. See Annual Meteorological Summary, Yuma, Ariz., and Sec. 13, Summary Climatic Data; U. S. Weather Bureau, 1921.

sycamore cover the uncleared land. Impenetrable thickets of arrowweed (*Pluchea sericea*) confronted the early travelers and compelled the use of guides in journeying from village to village. The cottonwoods flank the main river channel above the level of permanent swamp and form dense continuous belts, sometimes several hundred yards in width, which can be seen from the Fort Yuma hill extending far into the distance along the Gila and Colorado. The black willows cluster below the cottonwoods at the water's edge (pl. 49b). They grow also in thick clumps out in the plains in natural depressions where flood waters accumulate. The sloughs and mud banks of the broad meandering channels are thickly overgrown by rushes, tule, and canes (*Phragmites*), which demand permanent surface water. Below Pilot Knob the longitudinal belts of rushes, willow, and cottonwood tongue up the westward flowing distributaries of the Colorado, Alamo, New River, and Paredones, and extend down the ancient main channel toward the gulf.¹³ Arrowweed thickets, six to eight feet high and so dense that trails must be hacked through with knives, formerly occupied the greater part of the plain which was inundated for only a few weeks of the year. Mesquite, intolerant of marsh conditions and able to draw water from considerable depths, grew most abundantly along the margins of the plain beneath the mesa bluffs¹⁴ on land that was rarely well flooded but whose water table was still high.

The game of this territory, although probably fairly abundant under aboriginal conditions, was limited in species and relatively unimportant in the native economy. Deer and antelope were sometimes to be found in the mesquite groves near the mesa and less frequently among the cottonwood close to the river. Wildcats, coyotes, and raccoons abounded and preyed on the numerous rabbits. Beavers and muskrats were found in the river but trapped neither for food nor pelt. The water birds, of which the most conspicuous were apparently the American and the Snowy Egret (*Casmerodius egretta* and *Egretta candidissima candidissima*), were valued for their plumage and shot while at rest with blunt arrows.

The climate of the Lower Colorado in the neighborhood of the Gila confluence is of the hot desert type. In winter the diurnal range is noticeably great; while a few nights of frost are expected in late December and January, the days are pleasantly warm. But severe conditions occasionally develop. Anza's first expedition arrived in winter to suffer unexpected hardships from the cold, and snow fell

¹³ MacDougal, 10.

¹⁴ Cf. Trippel, 573.

in surprising amount. The absolute minimum temperature obtained in modern records from Yuma is 22° F. Temperature rises rapidly in spring accompanied by valuable but erratic cyclonic rains and by the end of May the tropic summer has developed. Apart from occasional thunderstorms which produce a temporary but unpleasant damp heat, the days are hot but dry, since no longer, as in the past, is the air moistened by the evaporating flood. The glare of the sand and the saltiness of the slight breezes are trying to the stranger, who obtains little relief at night until a few hours before dawn. But the slight chill of night is dispelled within an hour of sunrise and the temperature rises rapidly again to a mean maximum of 105° F, which may on occasion mount to 120° F in the shade.

ABORIGINAL CONDITIONS

The Yuma formerly lived in a series of scattered settlements near their patches of arable land and mesquite bushes. The men went naked.¹⁵ The women wore a two-piece skirt of bark. Rabbitskin blankets were made and worn in cold weather, but true weaving of the Pima type, which they employed to make bark-cloth blankets and breech-clouts, may have been introduced at a relatively recent date, since woven garments are not mentioned by the Spaniards who visited them in the eighteenth century.

The woman's skirt consisted of two aprons of shredded willow-bark strips hung from a girdle of bark twine. The upper part of the rear girdle was frequently bunched up to form a large bustle, which was commented on but not accurately described by the early travelers. Although they were still being worn in the latter half of the nineteenth century, specimens are today unobtainable.

Leather sandals are believed by the Yuma to have been aboriginal (fig. 1). They were made of deerskin and, more recently, of horsehide. A flat strip of hide was cut to the shape of the foot. Two tags were left on either side at the position of the arch, or were threaded through slits in the sole. Through holes in the side tags and between the big and fourth, and third and second toe a single thong was threaded which bound the sandal to the foot. Similar sandals were known to the Diegueño and Pima.¹⁶ Sandals of yucca or other fiber

¹⁵ By the nineteenth century a breechelout had been adopted. This was a long band of buckskin or woven bark cloth drawn up between the legs and over a girdle of bark twine.

¹⁶ Spier, 1, 344, and Russell, 122 and fig. 48.

were unknown. The hide sandals themselves may be relatively recent since they are not mentioned by the early travelers.

Both the dog (*axa't tsoktsok*) and the horse (*axa't musi'n*) are believed by the Yuma to have been aboriginal. The first horses actually seen by them were probably those of Oñate's expedition at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but they did not begin to possess any until the end of the eighteenth. Horses were highly esteemed as show animals, were ridden, but more frequently eaten. They were

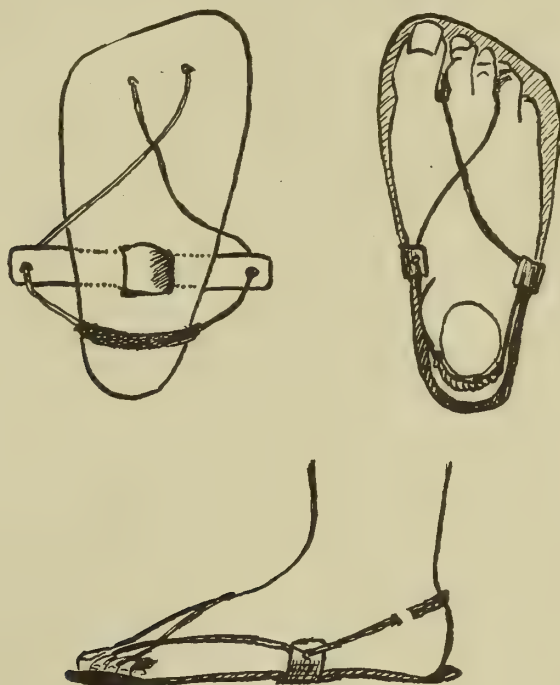


Fig. 1. Rawhide sandals.

apparently little used in warfare and the Piman use of the horse in fighting is frequently mentioned as unsportsmanlike. Horse racing became a very popular sport in the nineteenth century.

There is no mention of the dog in the early Spanish records. The etymologies of the words for horse and dog were not obtained; *axat* probably defines the animal as domestic, *tsoktsok* and *musi'n* were said to be untranslatable.

The Yuma resemble the other Indians of the lower Colorado in their large stature. The Lower Colorado physical types as seen among the Yuma, Mohave, and Cocopa are immediately distinguishable from

those of central California or the Pueblo area. The Yuma appear, in general, to be less tall and more heavily built than the Mohave, but two relatively distinct types appear among them: a tall, spare type with narrow face, long limbs, and a stature well over six feet; and another, also tall but at the same time massively built with a heavy, square face, massive shoulders, thick waist, and broad hips (pl. 51). The pigmentation of the Yuma is noticeably darker than that of the Pueblo peoples. There has unfortunately been little detailed study of the somatological types.¹⁷

The general appearance and character of the Yuma under aboriginal conditions are vividly portrayed by the Jesuit father Font in the diary of his second journey to California in 1775-76.¹⁸

The Yumas dwell on the bottom lands of the Colorado River and on both of its banks. Its waters although always more or less turbid, are fresh and good, and are not salty like those of the Gila River, for this stream, on account of the Río de la Assumpeión, has such muddy waters, making the Colorado River somewhat impure after the Gila joins it. The bottom lands extend on one side of the river and the other for about two leagues, and in some places more. In them there are many cottonwoods, and also mesquites and other scrubby trees; and the cottonwoods, although very tall, are usually very slender because they grow so close together. Of these and of the willows there are many that are dry, for they die because the Indians strip the bark off and use it to make the little skirts of the women, as I said.

The river appears to have only a small amount of fish, and this is bony. Each year the river spreads out for a long distance through the bottom lands in the season of the floods, which come from the melting of the snow in summer in the mountains to the north and far in the interior. For this reason it does not rise suddenly but gradually. Indeed it rises and falls nearly all the year, for it begins to rise in March and April and from that time each day it gets larger until June, when it begins to go down, and then every day it gets smaller until the end of the year. The lands which it waters are generally good, and since the water spreads over them so gently it does not injure them. On the contrary, from this irrigation they are greatly fertilized and have moisture for the crops which the Indians plant in them when the water recedes, and for the abundant harvests which they get. In a word, this Colorado River appears to me very much like the Yaqui, both in its floods and in other circumstances, as well as in the nature of the Indians who inhabit it, although in everything this river excels the other, especially in the cottonwood groves, which the Yaqui River lacks.

The climate in winter is very cold, and in the mornings there are ice and very heavy frosts, this weather lasting three or four months, from November to February inclusive.¹⁹ The rest of the year the climate is very hot, with excessive heat in the height of the summer, when it usually rains a little, as it also does in the winter. The crops raised by the Indians are wheat, maize, which they call Apache maize and which matures in a very short time, orimuni beans, tepari beans, cantaloupes, watermelons, and very large calabashes of which they make dried strips,

¹⁷ Cf. Hrdlička.

¹⁸ Bolton, 4:98-109.

¹⁹ An abnormally cold winter, see pp. 91, 92.

which in Sinaloa they call bichicore, and seeds of grasses. With these things they have plenty to eat. They likewise gather a great quantity of tornillo and péchita [screw and mesquite beans], although this is more for variety than for necessity. . . .

These Yumas, and likewise the Cajuenches and the rest, are well formed, tall, robust, not very ugly, and have good bodies. Generally they are nearly eight spans high and even more, and many are nine and some even above nine, according to our measurements. The women are not so tall, but they also are quite corpulent and of very good stature.

Their customs, according to what I was able to learn, are the following: In religion they recognize no special idolatrous cult, although it appears that there are some wizards, or humbugs, and doctors among them, who exercise their offices by yelling, blowing, and gestures. They say that there is a god, and that they know this because the Pimas have told them so; and that these Pimas and the Pápagos, with whom they maintain peace and have some commerce, have told them that above, in the heavens, there are good people, and that under the ground there are dogs, and other animals that are very fierce. They say they do not know anything else because they are ignorant, and for this reason they will gladly learn what we may teach them, in order that they may be intelligent. And since the basis of a well-ordered monarchy, government, or republic is religion, even though it may be false, and since none is found among these Indians, they consequently live very disorderly and beastlike, without any civilization and with such slight discipline as I have previously said, each one governing himself according to his whim, like a vagabond people.

Their wars and campaigns usually last for only a few days, and they reduce themselves to this: Many of them assemble with the captain or some one who commands them; they go to a village of their enemies; they give the yell or war-cry, in order that their opponents may flee or become terrified if taken by surprise. They usually kill some woman, or someone who has been careless, and try to capture a few children in order to take them out to sell in the lands of the Spaniards. These captives are called Nixoras by us in Sonora, no matter where they come from, and this commerce in Nixoras, so unjust, is the reason why they have been so bloody in their wars. Their arms are a bow, taller than themselves, badly tempered, and a few arrows, of which generally they carry only two or three, as I saw, and these somewhat long, bad, and weak. Very few carry quivers, if indeed they carry any at all, for I did not see a single one.

Their houses are huts of rather long poles, covered with earth on the roofs and on the sides, and somewhat excavated in the ground like a rabbit burrow; and in each one twenty or thirty or more live like hogs. These houses are not close together in the form of towns, but are scattered about the bottom lands, forming rancherías of three or four, or more, or less.

The clothing of the men is nothing, although . . . we saw some Indians wearing blankets of cotton, and black ones of wool which come from El Moqui, which they have been able to acquire through the Coecomaricopas and Jalchedunes. These they wore around their bodies from the middle up, leaving the rest of the body uncovered. . . . But as a rule they go about totally naked.

. . . In the matter of incontinence they are so shameless and excessive that I do not believe that in all the world there is another tribe that is worse. The women, it might almost be said, are common, and the hospitality which they show their guests is to provide them with a companion. And although among the old people there seems to be a sort of natural matrimony, recognizing as legitimate some one of the many women they have or had in their youth, yet among the young men I believe there is no such thing as matrimony, because they live with

anyone they desire and leave them whenever they please—or at least polygamy is very common among them.

All the females, even though they may be small, and even infants at the breast, wear little skirts made from the inner bark of the willow and the cottonwood. This they soften a little, tear it into strips, enlace or interweave them, and make a sort of apron of them which they tie around the waist with a hair rope, one piece in front and the other behind, the one behind being somewhat longer than the one in front and reaching clear to the knees. Since they are made of so many strips or narrow ribbons the thickness of a finger, and hang loose, with the shaking which they are given on walking they make quite a noise. Among the women I saw some men dressed like women, with whom they go about regularly, never joining the men. The commander called them *americados*, perhaps because the Yumas call effeminate men *maricas*. I asked who these men were, and they replied that they were not men like the rest, and for this reason they went around covered this way. From this I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices. . . . Likewise, some women, although not many, are accustomed to cover the back with a kind of cape or capotillo which they made from the skins of rabbits or of beaver, cutting the skin into strips and weaving it with threads of bark; but generally they go around with all the body uncovered except for what the skirts conceal.

On cold nights, and especially in the winter, they make a fire and crouch round it, lying down huddled together and even buried in the sand like hogs. In the daytime they are accustomed to go around with a burning brand or *tizón* in the hand, bringing it close to the part of the body where they feel the coldest, now behind, now in front, now at the breast, now at the shoulders, and now at the stomach. These are their blankets, and when the fire goes out they throw the brand away, and seek another one that is burning.

The men are much given to painting themselves red with hematite, and black with shiny black lead-colored earth, whereby they make themselves look like something infernal, especially at night. They use also white and other colors, and they daub not only the face but all the body as well, rubbing it in with marrow fat or other substances, in such a way that even though they jump into the river and bathe themselves frequently, as they are accustomed to do, they cannot remove the paint easily. And those who have nothing else, stain themselves with charcoal from the top down with various stripes and figures, making themselves look like the Devil; and this is their gala dress. The women use only red paint, which is very common among them, for I saw only one large girl who, in addition to the red hematite, had some white round spots in two rows up and down the face.

The men have their ears pierced with three or four large holes (the women not so many), and in them they hang strings of wood or *chomete* and other rags. Likewise they wear around the neck good-sized strings of the dried heads of animals that look like tumble bugs, which are found here. They are very fond of *cuentas* or glass beads, for which they barter their few blankets, and with which some members of the expedition provided themselves. They likewise traded their grain and other things which they brought, so that yesterday about five hundred water-melons and great quantities of calabashes, maize, beans, etc., were sold at the camp, and today more than twice as much. Besides this, nearly all the men have the middle cartilage of the nose pierced (I did not notice this among the women), from which the richest men, such as Captain Palma, hang a little blue-green stone, others a little white stone, half round, like ivory or bone, such as Captain Pablo wore. Others wear beads or other frivolity in the nose, and although I saw several with nothing, on the other hand I saw some who were contented to wear a little stick thrust through the cartilage.

The coiffure of the men is unique. Most of them wear the hair banded in front at the eyes, but some have it cut at the neck, others wearing it quite long. They are accustomed to make their coiffure or dress their hair by daubing it with white mud and other paints, in order that it may be stiff. They usually do this on the banks of the water and with great care. They raise the front hair up and fix it like a crown, or like horns, and the rest they make very slick with the paints and mud, and they are accustomed also to decorate it with figures in other colors. The women do not make use of all this, their ordinary coiffure being to press the hair together and fix it with mud as in Europe the women use flour paste. Their usual custom is to wear the front hair cut off even with the eyebrows, wearing the rest somewhat long, hanging down the shoulders and back.

They are very fond of smoking, and are very lazy, and if this were not so they would reap much larger harvests; but they are content with what is sufficient to provide themselves with plenty to eat, which, since the soil is so fertile from the watering by the river, they obtain with little trouble. This consists solely in the following: before the river rises they clear a piece of land which they wish to plant, leaving the rubbish there. The river rises and carries off the rubbish, and as soon as the water goes down and recedes, with a stick they make holes in the earth, plant their seeds, and do nothing else to it. They are likewise very thievish, a quality common to all Indians. Their language is not so harsh as that of the Pimas, and to me it appeared to be less difficult to pronounce; for there is a pause like an interrogation at the end of each clause or thing which is said.

As a result of our persuasion the Yuma tribe at present is at peace with all of its neighbors, except the Indians at the mouth of the river, who are still hostile because of a war which Palma made on them a short time ago, in which he killed about twenty of their people. But this breach has now been composed by Father Garcés during his journey there, as he says in his diary. In virtue of this peace some Jalchedunes came down to the junction of the rivers, bringing their Moqui blankets and other things to barter with the people of the expedition. They did not find us there, but Father Thomás, who remained there, received them well and gave them presents.

Finally, these people as a rule are gentle, gay, and happy. Like simpletons who have never seen anything, they marveled as if everything they saw was a wonder to them, and with their impertinent curiosity they made themselves troublesome and tiresome, and even nuisances, for they wearied us by coming to the tents and examining everything. They like to hear the mules bray, and especially some burros which came in the expedition, for before the other expedition they had never seen any of these animals. Since the burros sing and bray longer and harder than the mules, when they heard them they imitated them in their way with great noise and hullabaloo.

The men's style of hair dressing referred to by Font is still maintained by the majority. The uncut hair is divided into a large number of small tresses each of which is plastered with mud and mesquite gum and coiled into long pencil-like rolls. These hang freely down the back or are coiled over and around the head. A more recent fashion has developed since the introduction of colored kerchiefs. The coils are bunched together and brought up from the nape of the neck over the crown. The head is then covered with a tightly bound kerchief so that the ridge of hair below the cloth forms a crest which protrudes above the forehead (pl. 57b).

TERRITORY AND SETTLEMENTS

The distribution and movements of the various tribes on the Lower Colorado, according to the early sources, have been analyzed by Kroeber.²⁰ The diaries of the Anza expeditions to California²¹ extend our knowledge on one or two points. The Yuma occupy at the present time approximately the same territory, at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers, as that in which they were found by the Spanish explorers of the eighteenth century. They cannot, however, be recognized in accounts of earlier date. Alarcon, who traveled up the river by boat perhaps as far as Parker in 1540,²² has left a very vivid account of the culture of the region but only the Quiquima (Quicoma) and Koxwan or Coana (koxhwa'n), who have since disappeared, are certainly identifiable in his account. In 1604 the Oñate expedition²³ encountered the Ocaras (Ozares or Oseres) at the Gila-Colorado confluence, which later became the center of the Yuma territory. The Ocaras were found immediately north of the Cogwana (or Cohana, koxhwa'n).²⁴ They are described as a "people of a different language, from whom I learned that a continuous settlement extended all along the River Nombre de Jesus [i.e., R. Gila]. . . . they made *mantas* of cotton, some of which I saw, which are stitched like those of the provinces of New Mexico." A people of somewhat similar name, the Opas, were described in the diaries of the Anza expeditions of 1774 and 1775. They lived among and appear to have formed part of the Maricopa (Cocomaricopa), who were found some distance up the Gila. Since there has always been a tendency for defeated peoples to move eastward from the Colorado and since the bitter enmity of the Yuma and Maricopa probably originated at some period when they were in close

²⁰ Kroeber, 1.

²¹ Bolton, 4.

²² Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 3:425-439. Alarcon claims to have traveled 85 leagues up the river and describes a gorge section at the upper limit of his journey which corresponds well with the condition of the river immediately above Parker.

²³ Oñate's expedition is known in two complementary Relations, of which the more direct source is the recently discovered diary of a member of the expedition, Father Escobar. A later account apparently based primarily on Escobar, written by Father Zaraté-Salmeron, includes further data obtained presumably from other members of the expedition. This account, however, omits several important points and explanations found in Escobar. (See Bolton, H. E., 3, and for Zaraté-Salmeron, *idem*, 1:268-280).

²⁴ Bolton suggests that the Cogwana are the Yuma (3, 15, note), but this name corresponds more closely to the historically known koxhwan, later the southern neighbors of the Yuma and already mentioned by Alarcon, *vide supra*.

proximity, there is some support for the view that the Opas and Ocaras are to be equated.²⁵ Kroeber, stressing Escobar's statement that the Ocaras were linguistically distinct from the other Lower Colorado peoples, which the Maricopa certainly were not, and their possible relation to the Tepeguanes, suggests that they were most probably a non-Yuman people, "Pima or Papago, or at least some Piman division, who then lived farther down the Gila than subsequently."²⁶ There is in the Anza diaries no suggestion that the speech of the Opas was distinct from that of the Maricopa among whom they were found in the 1770's. That the Ocaras were not in any case a typical river tribe is indicated by their cotton *mantas* and long braided hair covered with cloth and deerskin according to Zaraté,²⁷ or tied with maguey fiber as described in Escobar's Relation.²⁸

Oñate's failure to encounter the Yuma may be simply explained by the assumption that they were at that time living exclusively on the west bank where they have always been most numerous. Oñate did not cross the Colorado and it is expressly stated that the east bank people did not cross the river "because those on the other side were enemies although of the same nation."²⁹

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the presence of a people identified as the "Yumas" at the Gila-Colorado confluence was commonly known in Pimeria. These Yuma were already regarded as traditional enemies of the Pima and of the Maricopa, a Yuman-speaking group who had found asylum near them on the middle Gila. Kino had already visited the Yuma at the beginning of the century.³⁰ He gives the impression that in his time (1683-1711) the greater number lived east of the main river and were settled along the lower Gila, extending down to the Colorado junction. But he also records that others lived on the west side of the main river to which he did not cross. Indeed, some three hundred swam over to greet him on the occasion of his visit.

The lone visit of Garcés in 1771 and the records of the two expeditions to California under the leadership of Anza in 1774 and 1775 afford more detailed information. The Yuma figure prominently in the diaries of these journeys, for cooperation was needed in fording the Colorado and missions were founded in their territory at Puerto de la Concepción, and at the southern village near Pilot Knob. The

²⁵ Bandelier, 110, wished to identify the Ocaras with the Maricopa.

²⁶ Kroeber, 1, 483.

²⁷ Bolton, 1, 273.

²⁹ Zaraté-Salmeron, in Bolton, 1, 277.

²⁸ Bolton, 3, 33.

³⁰ Bolton, 2, 249, 251.

Concepción mission was built on the hill forming the northwest side of the narrows through which the Colorado passes at Yuma. The same site was later occupied by the garrison post, Fort Yuma, and the modern Indian Agency. In 1775, Garcés and Eixarch remained behind on the Colorado, while the rest of the expedition pushed on into California.³¹ At this time Yuma settlements were no longer found up the Gila valley³² and apart from an occasional war party they rarely passed east of the Gila range. The extent of the Yuma lands was variously estimated. Anza describes their territory as extending fifteen leagues south and one and a half leagues north of the junction, presumably on both sides of the river. He makes it clear that their lands were, at that time, separated from those of the Cocamaricopa (Maricopa) by fifteen leagues of deserted country.³³ In his diary, however, Anza reports that the southern limit of Yuma territory lay at Laguna de los Coxas, i.e., seven leagues from Concepción.³⁴ Font, writing at the same time (1775), describes the territory as about twenty leagues long with its center at Puerta de la Concepción (the present Fort Yuma).³⁵ Between the Kohuana and the Yuma there was another group called Cojats, whom Font regarded as a branch of the Yuma.³⁶ Their territory began, according to Anza, at Laguna de los Coxas, seven leagues from Concepción. They were more numerous than the Yuma proper and had superior lands.³⁷ The Kohuana (Cajuenches) lived below them, south of Santa Olalla³⁸ (map 2).

Only two large settlements were visited by the expeditions. The first, clustered about the house of the chief (coxot) Palma, was a mile or so east of la Concepción but on the west bank of the river.³⁹ Anza in his diary of the first expedition (1774) describes this settlement

³¹ The early visit of Garcés is summarily recorded in Arricivita's *Life of Garcés*, chap. 17, translated in Coues. Unfortunately both Garcés and his biographers are completely muddled as to his route, believing that he did not reach the Colorado when, in fact, he actually traveled almost to the Gulf. (Cf. Bolton, 5, 323 ff.). Garcés was, however, an inferior ethnographer and the competent diaries of other members of the Anza expeditions of 1774 and 1775 are of far greater importance. They are collected in one series, recently translated and edited by Dr. Bolton, who was kind enough to permit me to use his page proofs as the work went through the press. See Bolton, 4.

³² Apart from a recently deserted Yuma camp encountered at Laguna Salobre on the route down the Gila.—Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:66-67.

³³ Letter to the Viceroy, Bolton, 4, 5:397 ff.

³⁴ Anza's *Diary of the Second Expedition*, in Bolton, 4, 3:18.

³⁵ Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:100.

³⁶ Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:90.

³⁷ Anza's *Diary of the Second Expedition*, in Bolton, 4, 3:18.

³⁸ Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:90.

³⁹ Font, in Bolton, 4, 4:89.

as situated on an island in the river at the junction of the Gila and Colorado. He reached the Colorado in February when the water was low and was informed that these habitations would be abandoned when the river rose.⁴⁰ Diaz records a general shift of population during the season of maximum flood. During the floods of April and May the Yuma move away from the banks of the river in order to escape inundation, camping in the nearby uplands until the river returns to its channel.⁴¹ Alarcon had also been informed of a similar practice among the lower Colorado peoples.

I asked him whether the people who dwelt on the river's edge dwelt there always or else sometime went to dwell in some other place; he answered me that in the summer season they abode there, and sowed there; and after they had gathered they went their way and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foot of the mountain far from the river. And he showed me by signs that the houses were of wood compassed with earth without and I understood that they made a round house wherein the men and women lived altogether.⁴²

The season of migration does not agree in these two accounts but they indicate the instability of occupation of any particular site.

The site of Palma's village continued to be one of the main Yuma settlements until recent times, and it is remembered as such at present. There is a considerable group of houses at this place, although it has now lost significance as a distinct settlement. It lies about two miles northeast of Fort Yuma and is known as axakwedexor, water-reed place (axa, water; kwedexor, an unidentified plant described as "like the willow but brittle"). The people living there were known as akyet kuma'ts (sunflower eaters). Miguel informed me that axakwedexor is particularly remembered as the place where Mexican soldiers are said to have camped but the incident could not be traced.

The second large village encountered by the Anza expeditions lay immediately south of Pilot Knob (Cerro de San Pablo) north of the confluence of the Alamo stream with the Colorado. This settlement, whose population was estimated by Diaz in 1774⁴³ at more than eight hundred, was said to be larger than that of Palma.⁴⁴ It was ruled by a chief whom the Spaniards had named Pablo, who was definitely subordinate to Palma. That a village maintained itself until recent time in this vicinity is indicated by the statements of my own informants that a large number of the Yuma lived until recently along the river near Pilot Knob, a few miles south of Algodones across the present

⁴⁰ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:38.

⁴¹ Diaz's Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:265.

⁴² Alarcon, in Hakluyt, 3, 425 ff.

⁴³ Diaz, Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:263.

⁴⁴ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:51.

International Boundary. This place was called xuksĩ'l (sandstone) because a large mass of sandy rock stood out near-by. The people were called kavẽltcaðum (south dwellers).

Another settlement of considerable size is remembered at a site about two miles south of the present Laguna Dam on the California side. This was known as kwerav ava'io (pneumonia living), apparently an unhealthy spot; its inhabitants were metvalcaðum (north dwellers). The term altecaðum, according to my informants, meant "pushed out to a distance."

There was also another permanent settlement, whose name was forgotten, a little east of the present site of Picacho at the foot of the Chocolate mountains.

It will be noticed that all these settlements are found near projecting spurs of the mesas which approach closely to the river and were in consequence subject to a minimum of disturbance during the flood season (map 2).

Fages,⁴⁵ who covered the greater part of the Yuma territory in 1781-82, in a punitive expedition after the destruction of the missions, indicated that Yuma villages at that time also extended some ten miles up the Gila above the confluence; and Steve said that in recent times people regularly went out to Wellton to get the rock slabs for metates, since only there was suitable stone to be obtained.

Cortez,⁴⁶ in a manuscript report of 1799, states that the Yuma numbered about three thousand, occupied the right (west) bank of the river, and extended south as far as 33°.

The Yuma were found in approximately the same territory when the early American expeditions entered the country. The establishment of a military garrison on the former site of the short-lived Spanish mission at la Concepción, henceforth known as Fort Yuma, resulted in fairly detailed reports on the native population. Heintzelman, captain in charge of the garrison, reported in 1853 that the Yuma, or Cuchan Indians, extended along the Colorado from sixty miles above the Gila to forty or fifty miles below, that there were several "bands" of them but that the greater number lived, at that time, below the Mexican boundary. He commented on the fact that they never left the river.⁴⁷ Ives, who navigated the Colorado from the gulf to the Mohave country in 1857-58, attempts to delimit the tribal

⁴⁵ Fages, in Priestley, 9.

⁴⁶ Report of Don Jose Cortez on the Indian Tribes of the Northern Provinces of New Spain, 1799, translated by Buckingham Smith in Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 124.

⁴⁷ Heintzelman, 36.

territories as he found them. The Yuma were concentrated in the country ten to fifteen miles to the north and to the south of Fort Yuma,⁴⁸ but Yuma villages were found at intervals all the way up the valley to Half Way mountain, about 135 miles above the Gila confluence, and it was at this point that his guides left the boat to visit Yuma friends. But the upper end of the "Great Colorado Valley" (Ehrenberg to Parker) was occupied exclusively by Chemehuevi. At Bill Williams fork two Mohave messengers, who had come downstream from their territory, awaited him.⁴⁹

These accounts do not necessarily exaggerate the extent of the territory then occupied by the Yuma, for a shift of population had occurred in the preceding years. The remnants of two tribes occupying the valley around and north of the present town of Ehrenberg moved east to join the Maricopa. In Oñate's time (1604), as we have seen, both the Kohuana and the Halchidhoma were south of the Yuma. Before Garcés arrived among them (1776) the Halchidhoma had already moved north. The Kohuana, according to Mohave tradition,⁵⁰ joined them in the territory north of the Gila confluence at the end of the eighteenth century. After being harried for many years by Yuma and Mohave raiding parties they moved off eastward, the Halchidhoma going first, before the arrival of the American explorers. This evacuation of the wide valley south of Bill Williams fork was apparently followed by a considerable northward extension of Yuma settlements.

One of these northern villages was called avi'kwotapai. It was some distance south of Parker on the Californian side. Steven Kelly's father lived there.

Both the Spanish and early American explorers agree in estimating the Yuma population at about three thousand. Anza judges them to number thirty-five hundred.⁵¹ Whipple⁵² quotes an estimate made by a M. Leroux "early in the 19th century," which attributes five hundred warriors and a total of three thousand population to the Yuma. Heintzelman⁵³ stated in 1853 that there were less than four hundred warriors (i.e., adult males) in the vicinity of Fort Yuma. The present population according to the Agency rolls (June, 1929) is:

	Male	Female	Total
	447	399	846
Adults (over 20 years)	278	247	525

⁴⁸ Ives, 42.

⁴⁹ Ives, 53-59.

⁵⁰ Cf. Kroeber, 1, 478-81.

⁵¹ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:54.

⁵² Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 16.

⁵³ Heintzelman, 36.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The activities of war, barter, and festival brought the Yuma into contact with many of the numerous peoples who lived in the hinterland of the Lower Colorado (map 1). The travels of the Yuma, apart from war expeditions, were confined largely to the journeys up and down the Colorado valley. The impression gained from both the early diaries and the reminiscences of living Indians is one of constant but restricted movement. Kroeber says of the Mohave, however, that:

Tribes hundreds of miles away were attacked and raided. Visits carried parties of Mohave as far as the Chumash and Yokuts. Sheer curiosity was their main motive; for the Mohave were little interested in trade. They liked to see lands; timidity did not discourage them; and they were as eager to know the manners of other peoples as they were careful to hold aloof from them.⁵⁴

The accounts of early travelers introduce us to a large number of tribally distinct peoples living in close proximity along the Lower Colorado and Gila rivers. The majority of these can be traced through the successive accounts⁵⁵ but since the Yuma themselves are not identifiable as a tribal unit before the time of Kino at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the history of their external contacts is confined to the relatively short space of two hundred years. Throughout this period their relations with neighboring tribes have been comparatively stable. Certain traditional alliances and enmities have been maintained. An unbroken alliance linked them to the Mohave and an equally tenacious traditional enmity ranged these two tribes against the Cocopa to the south and the Maricopa who lived around the confluence of the Salt and Gila.

The Maricopa appear to have been originally a river tribe and are, of all the Yumans, linguistically closest to the Yuma, but there is no trace of them in Alarcon's account and the later travelers found them already established on the Gila. Their mourning ceremony fails to show the elaboration of the river tribes and unlike the Halchidhoma and the Kohuana, more recent immigrants to the Gila, they have no legend or belief of having lived on the Colorado.⁵⁶ There can be little doubt, therefore, that their exodus occurred before the sixteenth century. The Yuma have now but vague memories of the Halchidhoma

⁵⁴ Kroeber, 2:727.

⁵⁵ Kroeber, 1:482 ff.

⁵⁶ Information from Dr. L. Spier.

and Kohuana and only the latter are thought of as enemies.⁵⁷ The Kamya are regarded as a small, inoffensive group to be treated in friendly fashion. They are said to have lived about sixty miles west of Fort Yuma on the distributaries of the northwestern delta. The Diegueño or foreign Kamya (Kamya' axwe') are their kinsmen, but living far away in the mountains and of no importance as fighters, they were visited only occasionally by small parties at the time of important ceremonies.

The extent of aboriginal contact with the Diegueño is difficult to estimate. The two peoples are coupled closely together in myths but most of the traceable connections are recent and the evidence of Anza's expeditions, which is, however, not applicable to the nineteenth century, suggests that hostile Kohuana territory intervened between them. The Yuma knew and occasionally encountered the Cahuilla and Chemehuevi but paid them little attention. Of the more eastern Shoshoneans, Luisiño, Serrano, and others there was no recollection.

The Yuma claim that they were friendly toward their eastern neighbors, the Yavapai and the Papago. Garcés reported that the Yavapai were old friends who visited them each winter to eat corn and beans.⁵⁸ They appeared in January during the winter spent by Eixarch at Concepción. They were dressed in deerskins and were poorer but cleaner than the Yuma.⁵⁹ Diaz also states that the Papago were welcome "through their skill in disorderly dances."

The centuries-old hostility against the Maricopa and their allies in recent times, the Pima, was responsible for the most extensive of their expeditions; otherwise the Yuma rarely left the vicinity of the main river.

Wider communication, in a limited degree, existed in aboriginal times. Alarcon, as early as 1540, found one people that knew of the negro who had come to Cevola (i.e., Zuñi) with Friar Marco. He was also informed that Cevola was forty days away up the river, a place of "hie houses of stone three or four lofts and windows on each side, that the houses were compassed about with a wall containing the height of a man and a half." On another occasion he was informed that the journey involved ten days' travel across the desert. Anza was informed in 1774 that the journey from the Yuma country to the Hopi took twelve days. He says that "the blankets of black

⁵⁷ Garcés (1771) described the Jalchedunes as friends of the Yuma (Coues, 1, 208), but Eixarch (1775) found them to be enemies (Bolton, 4, 3:312).

⁵⁸ Coues, 1, 208-9.

⁵⁹ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:343.

and blue wool that come from the province of El Moqui are seen in abundance among the Yumas who acquire them through the Siopa.’’⁶⁰ Font, however, in his diary of the second expedition states that the Yuma had no blankets when seen the year before but were now getting cotton blankets made by the Opas (Maricopas) and a few black woolen ones from Moqui (Hopi).⁶¹ The Mohave and the Havasupai appear to have been the intermediaries in this sporadic traffic with the western Pueblos.

Within the river territory, however, the Yuma and the other tribes traveled freely and over long distances. Bands of “Yumas” and “Cocomaricopas” journeyed down to the gulf to meet Kino and his party.⁶² War parties would travel for days with very little food, covering over a hundred miles to fight a battle; and in modern times Trippel⁶³ claimed that the messengers and trailers were expert runners who could cover sixty to seventy-five miles a day when necessary.

LINGUISTIC RELATIONS

The linguistic relations of the various Yuman tribes have not yet been closely studied. More recent data, however, considerably modify the general scheme outlined by Harrington. The following tentative grouping is suggested by Kroeber:

Tentative Linguistic Classification of Yuman Tribes

1. Cochimi-Laymon—little known, but seems most differentiated from all others.
2. Cocopa, Halyikwamai, Kohuana—very similar to each other.
3. Kamia-Diegueño, Kiliwa.
4. Akwa’ala (Paipai)—seems most generalized.
5. Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai—fairly close to 4.
6. Halchidhoma, Maricopa, Yuma.
7. Mohave—similar to both 5 and 6.

⁶⁰ Anza’s Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:50.

⁶¹ Font’s Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:73.

⁶² Kino, in Bolton, 2, 205–10.

⁶³ Trippel, 572.

FOOD SUPPLY

Although warlike in their practices and aspirations, the Yuma and other peoples of the Lower Colorado differed from the Indians of the Plains in their indifference to the chase.⁶⁴ This attitude is understandable in environmental and cultural terms. Since their country was largely arid, game, both large and small, was exceedingly scarce. A few deer might stray through the cottonwood groves along the river, rabbits burrowed in the sandy banks, but beyond these and the water birds of the Colorado, there was little to reward the hunter. Buckskin was largely an imported product obtained from the north-east, valued highly but little used. Rabbit-skin blankets were rare and a sign of considerable wealth.⁶⁵ The feeble bow, the light and often unpointed arrow, the absence of the curved throwing stick, and of communal hunting practices are all associated with this deficiency in the culture, a lack which was emphasized and strengthened by the unusual natural abundance of vegetable food to be had for the gathering, and also by cultivation of the annually flooded bottoms of the Colorado river.

AGRICULTURE

The Lower Colorado country is practically rainless. Before the building of the modern Imperial Valley irrigation system, vegetation was confined, with the exception of occasional cacti, mesquite, and ironwood trees to the river bottoms. The flooded sloughs, annually enriched with a layer of fine mud, frequently remain moist throughout the hot season.

The construction works for the irrigation of the Imperial valley and of a section in southwestern Arizona have modified the flood conditions of the Colorado below Laguna Dam, twelve miles above Fort Yuma. The aboriginal conditions, however, are known to us from early reports. The inundation was in those times very extensive. Anza reports that the waters spread over a distance of half a league on either side of the main stream.⁶⁶ The extent of water was so great that Garcés failed to recognize the Gila-Colorado confluence when he reached it in August, 1771, and traveled on for several days toward

⁶⁴ Cf. Diaz's Dairy, in Bolton, 4, 2:265.

⁶⁵ Anza, Diary of the Journey from Tubac to San Gabriel, in Bolton, 4, 2:157.

⁶⁶ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:550.

the Gulf imagining himself to be still on the Gila.⁶⁷ Font⁶⁸ records that the river began to rise in April and May, reaching a maximum in June, from which it sank slowly until the end of the year; but Eixarch, who spent the winter at la Concepción in 1775-76, was able to supply further details. He noted that the Gila began to rise before the main river at the end of January in 1776;⁶⁹ the Colorado did not begin to increase in volume until the middle of February (15th).⁷⁰ By the 20th of April the river was already flooding "many lakes which it usually fills every year,"⁷¹ but in a few days (23rd) the level fell again, to his great surprise, whereupon he was informed by the Yuma chief, Palma, that the river "is in the habit of doing this and then much water comes."⁷²

The river rose again at the beginning of May when the Yuma began to clear the land and gather in the harvest of their winter-grown wheat.⁷³ In the previous year the flood had been weak and there was a shortage of cultivated crops which was remedied by the more assiduous gathering of wild fruits.⁷⁴

Heintzelman also notes the uncertainty of the flood and its effect on agriculture:

The summer of 1851 there was no overflow here [at Fort Yuma which was, in normal years, converted into an island by the filling of a wide slough to the west of the bluff] but a partial one below. The last year [1852] our military operations prevented them from planting below, between us and the Cocopas and above within fifty miles. This caused great suffering the past winter; for months our camp was filled with men, women, and children begging for something to eat.⁷⁵

The naturally irrigated soil is very productive. The Spaniards were strongly impressed by the success of the crude agricultural methods they found, and speculated enthusiastically as to the yields which could be obtained by "modern methods." Eixarch tells us that "the land is so good that only with the bathing given it by the river during the time of its flood it conserves enough moisture so that it produces wheat and also maize, beans, watermelons, calabashes, etc. . . ."⁷⁶

The Spaniards, with the idea of colonization always at the back of their minds, were careful to note the most fertile lands in the neighborhood of la Concepción. They record that while the planting was good

⁶⁷ A point on which Coues, his biographer, was also led astray. Cf. Bolton, 5, 323-325.

⁶⁸ Font, in Bolton, 4, 4:100.

⁶⁹ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:347.

⁷⁰ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:357.

⁷¹ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:372.

⁷² Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:374.

⁷³ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:376-77.

⁷⁴ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:375-76.

⁷⁵ Heintzelman, 37.

⁷⁶ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:321.

immediately to the north of the narrows on the west bank, it was even better further south at Pablo's village; while the very best land in the district lay south of the Yuma among the Cajuenches.

The aboriginal agriculture depended almost entirely on this natural irrigation. Planting was begun when the mud of the sloughs began to cake at the surface. This, according to Manuel, coincided with the dawn rising of Big Star, *xamacevetai* (?*Formalhaut*), which rose early in spring and was watched throughout the earlier part of the year in order that the approach of the flood could be gauged. The same star was used as an index of the normal harvest period, September-October, for at that time it appears setting in the west just after sunset.

Hipa Norton said that planting cannot begin until after the inundation has dropped sufficiently to free the plots from stagnant water. In normal years the land was in fit condition for planting when the Pleiades first appeared in the east in the morning (late June). All plants should be in the ground before Orion (*amo*, mountain sheep) first appeared at dawn,⁷⁷ for plants sown later would not get enough water from the ground.

From the stars it is easy to tell if the river is late, but if it is late we must wait for it. Sometimes a second overflow ruins the planting. If so the work must be done all over again, but the crops will be poor and scanty. Some years we couldn't plant until the very end of July. Then there would be less food.

A little corn and some melons were also planted in February in damp places. These depended largely on the slight and unreliable spring showers and waterings from wells. The Yuma claim that the spring planting is aboriginal, while Eixarch in 1776 observed that two harvests of maize were obtained, commenting: "It is true that the seed is from what they call Apache maize, which matures very rapidly."⁷⁸ The main spring crop is yellow corn which will ripen in two months. No beans can be grown at this time.⁷⁹

The main planting in June-July included corn, beans, pumpkins, melons, and grasses. Font specifies the following cultivated plants as observed in 1775: maize (short season variety), *orimuni* beans (i.e., cow-pea), *tepany* beans, cantaloupes, watermelons, very large calabashes "which were dried in strips."⁸⁰ In addition to wheat, which

⁷⁷ The record is ambiguous as to dawn or dusk observations for these two stars. The former must be meant since only so would their observation coincide with June-July planting.

⁷⁸ Anza's Diary of Second Expedition, in Bolton, 4, 2:267.

⁷⁹ But Eixarch records that the Yuma were beginning to plant beans, calabashes, and maize on April 21st. Bolton, 4, 3:372.

⁸⁰ Font's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:100.

was already well established as a winter crop,⁸¹ Anza mentions barley as a crop in cultivation among the Yuma at this time.⁸² It should be noted that Alarcon, in the sixteenth century, claimed that beans and wheat were unknown to the Lower Colorado peoples, while wheat is no longer mentioned among the crops grown by the Yuma in Heintzelman's report which describes their agricultural practices in some detail.

Heintzelman describes conditions in the 1850's:

Their agriculture is simple. With an old axe (if they are so fortunate as to possess one) knives and fire, a spot likely to overflow is cleared. After the waters subside, small holes are dug at proper intervals a few inches deep with a sharpened stick, having first removed the surface for an inch or two as it is apt to cake. The ground is tasted, and if salt, the place is rejected, if not the seeds are then planted. No further care is required but to remove the weeds which grow most luxuriantly wherever the water has been.⁸³

The Yuma have neither legendary accounts nor ritualizations of the introduction of maize or wheat and, unlike the Pueblo peoples who depend on inadequate and uncertain rainfall and flush floods, were not preoccupied with their agriculture but accepted it as an essential but unremarkable element in their life.^{83a} Apart from the magic of the rainmakers, used mainly to produce storms to baffle their enemies, there appears to have been no ceremonial or magical practices associated with the assurance of their crops. The river itself, all important for their existence, figures only in a minor way in myth as the sweat or blood of Kumastamxo, or again as magically spouting up from the depths when the Creator plunged a stick into the earth. It is not personified and has no associated spirits.

Five varieties of corn (taḍi'ts) are recognized:

Yellow—taḍi'ts akwe's

White—taḍi'ts hama'l

Red—taḍi'ts axwa't

Blue—taḍi'ts havalo'

Speckled—taḍi'ts iruwa'

All are apparently varieties of flour maize, *Zea amylacea*. No specimens corresponding to the "small Apache corn" described by Eixarch was obtainable. This was probably similar to the Mohave corn, a small

⁸¹ Font's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:100; Eixarch, Diary of Second Expedition, in Bolton, 4, 3:321, 372 ff.

⁸² Anza's Dairy from Tubac to San Gabriel, in Bolton, 4, 2:177.

⁸³ Heintzelman, 36-37.

^{83a} There is however a ritual use of corn in the keruk ceremony (see p. 228).

variety of *Zea amyloacea* with ears only 12 cm. long, ripening in two months, and still grown among the Havasupai.⁸⁴

Four varieties of bean were regularly grown:⁸⁵

axma, vata'x, and noku—large and small “black-eyed bean” or cow pea, *Vigna sinensis*.

amaḍotar—“blind bean,” another variety of cow pea.

mare'k xama'l—white tepary bean, *Phaseolus acutifolius*.

mare'k akwe's—a yellow tepary bean.

Beans were planted only on well drained ground. Three or four seeds were dropped into each hole, which was a pace from the next. Beans were sometimes planted between the rows of corn.

The cow pea has undoubtedly been introduced in post-Columbian times since it is not an indigenous American plant. The tepary bean is found, both wild and cultivated, over a large territory in the southwestern United States and Mexico.⁸⁶

Melons (tsume'to), *Citrullus vulgaris*, were grown in two varieties:

akwe's—yellow muskmelon.

nya—dark green watermelons.

Pumpkins (axma'ta), *Cucurbita pepo*, are differentiated as axmata han, a yellow pumpkin measuring about a foot across, and axmata'a, a larger pink-skinned variety. Gourds, *Cucumis*, were planted for the manufacture of rattles.

Watermelons formed the first planting. The seeds were sown in the still damp soil immediately after the flood waters had run off. They were planted two paces apart, four or five seeds being dropped into a hole six inches deep. They ripened before the beans or the main corn crop and, as in the Pueblo area, offered a welcome green diet in the last days of waiting before the new harvest. A considerable proportion of the watermelons was also stored for winter use. By enclosure in a dry earth pit they could be preserved in good condition until the following spring. A large pit, three or four feet deep and often more than six feet across, was excavated at a spot usually near the dwelling where the soil was dry, sandy, but firm. The pit was lined with dried bean foliage, or less efficiently with small arrowweed stalks. The melons were packed close, covered with the same material and finally earthed over, making a low mound. Eixarch records the

⁸⁴ Cf. Spier, 3, 103.

⁸⁵ Identification by Dr. Hendry, Dept. of Agriculture, Univ. of California.

⁸⁶ Cf. Freeman, G. F., 573 ff.

opening of a melon pit by Palma during the winter of 1775.⁸⁷ Muskmelons, which could not be stored in this way, were dried in strips hung from wooden frames. Pumpkins were both dried and stored in pits but they did not keep as well as watermelons.

Pumpkins and muskmelons were planted in the same manner as the watermelons but were generally segregated in special plots.

Several crops were grown together in the fields, which were irregular in size and shape, varying according to the topography of the sloughs. Corn was sown in holes two to four inches deep and a pace apart. The hole was made standing, with a dibble. Three or four seeds were placed in each hole. There was no hilling, the rows were irregular, and their spacing depended on the extent to which other plants were sown in the patch. Both beans and melons were often planted between the rows of corn. Melons, which ripen at the same time as the corn, were also frequently planted in a patch in the center of the field.

Beans were sown together with, or a little after, the corn but ripened a month later. Pumpkins were grown at the outer edge of the field, taking nearly four months to mature and so ripening much later. Before the introduction of modern irrigation agriculture no cotton was grown by the Yuma, who occasionally received it by trade from the north and east, but made little use of it. Wheat was grown, after its introduction, as a winter crop. The seeds were sown after the beans and melons had ripened. They were planted at a depth of a foot in the damper places. Slight rains in September and



Fig. 2. Agricultural tools. *a*, weed cutter; *b*, dibble or planter, 3 to 4 feet long.

early spring were valuable in improving the crop which should ripen in May.

Two simple agricultural tools were used, *kwetee's* (planter or dibble) and *analtahau'k* (weed cutter). Both were of mesquite wood and similar to the Mohave tools (fig. 2).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Cf. Kroeber, 2, pl. 67.

⁸⁷ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:323.

Although animals attacked the field crops, no traps were set to catch them. Scares were made of poles wrapped with reeds and hung with pottery shards and stones, and small boys also assisted in driving crows from the corn. But the raccoons and coyotes who devoured the melons went almost unmolested, unless the family camped by the fields throughout the season.

PLANTED GRASSES

The Yuma also planted several wild grasses of the region on other, generally less fertile, patches of land. This practice, until recently, provided a considerable portion of the food supply. Since they are agriculturists and also collect wild seeds and fruits which are not planted, the significance of the wild-grass planting in the culture is uncertain. It might possibly be thought to embody a very primitive stage in food production and to afford a concrete illustration of transition from the gathering of natural vegetation to true plant cultivation. But both the crops and cultivation methods make it clear that Lower Colorado agriculture as a whole is directly related to the American maize-squash complex and may be regarded as an impoverished version of the Pueblo type of agriculture.

Kroeber has obtained the names of similar plants used by the Mohave.⁸⁹ These are given for comparative purposes:

YUMA		MOHAVE
	<i>Planted grasses</i>	
akata'i		akatai
aksam		aksamta
akyire		akyesa (a rumex?)
		ankithi

The planted wild seeds are grown on cultivated tracts of personally owned land. One informant claims that they formerly were eaten quite as frequently as maize and indeed were prized articles of diet. The unplanted seeds were gathered at random from uncultivated tracts.

Eixarch recorded this practice of growing wild seeds:

I note also that these Indians harvest another grain which they call quies and of which they make atole bread baked in ashes and other dishes. This grass which they sow in winter and in the lakes when they are drying up looks like the seed of the fig although somewhat smaller. In color it is between red and brown and has a very pleasant taste.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Kroeber, 2, 736.

⁹⁰ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:372.

This is doubtless the akyire of my informants, of which it is a very good description.

Similarly Heintzelman notes that:

They also grow grass seeds for food. It is prepared by pounding the seed in wooden mortars made of mesquite[?], or in the ground. With water the meal is kneaded into a mass and then dried in the sun.⁹¹

It may be that a wild grass is indicated by Alarcon in his statement that the people of the Lower Colorado grew "maize, certain gourds, and another corn like until mill." Trippel⁹² mentions this planting of wild grasses and identifies one variety as "Sacaton grass," which suggests that it is *Sporobolus airoides* Torr., a grass which seeds plentifully and flourishes in this region on alkali soils.⁹³ It is probable that all are autochthonous. Their use is not reported outside the Lower Colorado region and does not in any case relate directly to the American agricultural complex. So far as I am aware the planting of the seeds of wild grasses is not practiced elsewhere in America and the uniqueness of the Colorado régime may explain its occurrence here. While it is impossible to define with certainty its historical relationship to the agriculture proper, it would seem more probable, however, since the seed scattering is completely integrated with the agricultural régime, that this intermediate practice was the consequence of agricultural knowledge rather than its precursor, a happy adaptation of local products previously collected where they happened to grow.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In modern times, land is inherited in the male line and is frequently allotted by the owner, who announces his wishes in his later years. But, formerly, neither lands nor property were inherited, since all were theoretically destroyed (often given away to strangers) at death. The plots of a dead person were left uncultivated for a season or two and then, if needed, were taken over by any person not of the deceased's family. It could not be determined whether relatives, other than the closest descendants, were prohibited from using such land. Land was not regularly bought or sold, although plots were sometimes exchanged or handed over.

Since the boundaries of plots were indicated only by small mounds of earth which were liable to be obliterated by the flood, or were

⁹¹ Heintzelman, 37.

⁹² Trippel, 575.

⁹³ Information from Miss A. Eastwood, California Academy of Sciences.

identified by common knowledge, disputes quite often arose concerning them. A man whose land bordered on a fertile patch might openly claim part of another's land. Such disputes were settled according to an established procedure. Supported by friends, the rivals would grasp each other at the waist or shoulders, the supporters would line up behind them, and each party would endeavor to push the other back. The winner would throw down his rival and place a knee on his stomach while his supporters marked the boundary at that place. If this mark remained untouched, the matter was considered settled; but if interfered with, the two parties met with sticks the next day and fought for possession. The same procedure was followed if an entire plot were contested. Each of the two parties endeavored to drive the other off by pushing and wrestling, the dispute being finally settled by a stick fight if the defeated party did not admit its loss.

GATHERED SEEDS AND FRUITS

A large variety of wild seeds and fruits were formerly collected. These included seeds of wild grasses growing in the flats and the fruit of desert and semi-desert plants grown on or near the mesas.

The most important are:

Collected (unplanted) grasses or herbs

YUMA	MOHAVE ⁹⁴
akwa'v	akwava
anki'	ankika
kwiskwa'k	koskwaka
sukwatō'c	
atpī'l	
	aksama [planted by the Yuma]
	kupo
	namaskwera

Other collected fruits

eya''	mesquite bean, <i>Prosopis juliflora</i>
i'i'c	screw bean, <i>Prosopis pubescens</i>
axpa'l ^k	ironwood tree nuts
ata'lk	a small potato-like tuber
iḍū't	a fungus appearing on the mesa in spring
av'a'	"sagebrush" seeds

The relative importance of cultivated and gathered foods is at present difficult to estimate. The Spanish accounts of the abundant food, especially corn, melons, and pumpkins put at their disposal when

⁹⁴ Kroeber, 2, 736.

they passed through the country, indicate that the agriculture on the Colorado was no mere accessory to the collecting of wild fruits.

It is also clear from the statements of my informants and the accounts of Trippel and others that the mesquite and screw bean were very important items in the food supply, and insured against starvation in years of irregular flood. Mesquite trees were not owned exclusively except where they happened to grow near a habitation, but families were in the habit of collecting beans from the same districts every year, and erected permanent storage bins for their reception. Mesquite was stored both on or near the house, and also near the foot of the mesas in the vicinity of the most abundant supply. The large storage granaries were erected on platforms of cottonwood poles. The platforms were often six feet square and raised four or five feet above the ground.⁹⁵ On these were built large cylindrical storage bins in birds'-nest weave (see p. 125), from three to five feet in diameter and two to four feet deep. The beans were broken to permit of closer packing and the filled bin was covered with arrowweed brush and damp mud, which caked hard under the sun. The current supply was taken from the house stores. The beans were pounded with a rough stone pestle in wooden mortars, hollowed in cottonwood trunks. A considerable quantity of this bean meal would be prepared at one time, dampened, and kneaded into lumps which were allowed to dry. These cakes of dried meal could be stored indefinitely in the house.

Agricultural burdens as well as others were carried by the women in nets on their backs supported from a headband.

Apart from sagebrush seeds (av'a'), the other gathered seeds and fruits were mostly delicacies and played a relatively unimportant part in the food supply. Sagebrush seeds were gathered in large quantities on the mesa. They were prepared by roasting in a pit. The seeds were heaped in the bottom of the pit, covered by a layer of clay, and a fire built on top which was allowed to burn all night.

The ironwood tree kernels have been identified as "the halves of a legume from the ironwood shrub or small tree *Olneya tesota* A. Gray (known variously as palo fierro, palo de hieuo, tesota, una de gato, etc.). It occurs in Arizona and Mexico."⁹⁶

Corn and small seeds were parched before being ground on the metate. Parching was known as máxu'l for corn and beans(?) and

⁹⁵ Cf. Trippel, 572.

⁹⁶ Data from Dr. P. B. Kennedy, Dept. of Agriculture, University of California.

hunya' for small seeds, but the technique was the same. The grains were placed in a shallow tray together with red hot charcoal and shaken with a lifting and twisting motion of the tray. They were then ground on a rectangular metate (axpe') with a cylindrical muller (examo'tsi). The first coarse grinding is called atelyisk, the second fine grinding, atawa'm.

Mescal was not collected or eaten; the Kamya were known to use it extensively, but the Yuma disliked it.

TOBACCO

Tobacco was obtainable in small quantities where it grew wild near the mesa edge. The local tobacco was known as mela'ũv and was not cultivated. In order to impart a stronger flavor to the leaves, those going to gather it would pretend to quarrel and fight with one another as they approached the plant; they would stamp and shout around it; but even so, imported tobacco obtained from the Kamya' and Akwa'ã'la was preferred to the local product. These were known as a'ũv kamya' and a'ũv akwa'a'l. The latter was darker and had the stronger and better flavor. The aboriginal supply was apparently not abundant, for Eixarch was greatly plagued by the incessant demands for tobacco during his stay at Concepción in 1775-76. He notes regretfully that "they put tobacco into a reed as thick as the finger, to fill which a good handful is necessary, and so they smoke, for they are not satisfied with a cigarette."⁹⁷ The smoking of tobacco in cane tubes was also noticed on the Lower Colorado by Alarcon in the sixteenth century. These tubes are about six inches in length and cut from withered canes. They are known as axta' aka'sa' (soft cane). Clay pipes (melxo) were also used in the past. Steve described them as from four to six inches in length, swelling and curving up slightly at the end into which the tobacco was placed. They were baked like pottery.

Although used by doctors in their curing, tobacco had little esoteric significance and no restrictions associated with its use were known to my informants.

⁹⁷ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:351.

HUNTING

Aboriginal hunting has been practically obsolete among the Yuma for half a century, but it appears to have been always of minor importance. It was undertaken in winter; men went out alone or in small parties of three or four. Deer (akwa'k), antelope (mo'ū'l), and more rarely mountain sheep (amō'') were killed. The mountains to the north of Yuma, Castle Dome, Dome Rock, and Tugo were most frequently visited. Deer could also be taken in the valley. No animal masks or disguises were used, nor were there any communal hunts. Rabbits (cottontail—xel'ao; jackrabbit—ak'ū'l) were killed throughout the year but were usually shot with a bow. The employment of the curved rabbit stick used by the Mohave was denied by most of my informants. Lincoln Johnson remembers people using it when he lived in Mexico, near Algodones, but these may well have been Kamya, among whom it was in common use.⁹⁸

FEASTS

According to Trippel,⁹⁹ feasts were held at the harvests of mesquite beans and of agricultural crops. In June a large shade was built in which large quantities of the ripened mesquite beans were collected. They were soaked in water and buried in the ground for two or three days. When almost solidified, the sticky mass was removed and stacked in piles beneath the shade. This continued for several days while the harvest was being gathered in. Singing and gaming occupied the evenings. Finally, at a given signal, all rushed into the shade, tearing down a light fence which had been built around it, each endeavoring to obtain as many bundles as possible and carry them off.

The crop harvest was celebrated by a similar gathering to which every family contributed pumpkins, melons, and squashes which were stacked in great heaps and consumed. The days were spent in games and contests, the nights in singing and gambling. Dreams were told, songs sung, and the leaders discussed tribal affairs. The festival ended abruptly when the provisions were consumed.

Harvest festivals were known, according to Steve, as nyima'ts xavtea'ts, i.e., "corn" singing. The kwoxot (chief) was expected to organize singings and feasts in times of plenty, and it is probable that those witnessed by Trippel were of this character.

⁹⁸ Gifford, 2.

⁹⁹ Trippel, 7-8.

FISHING

Two large and a number of small fish were caught in the Colorado river. The most important were

tsa'xnap—humpback, one and one-half to two feet long

māwī'lk—white "salmon," about three feet long

meko'lk—bony tail, less than a foot long

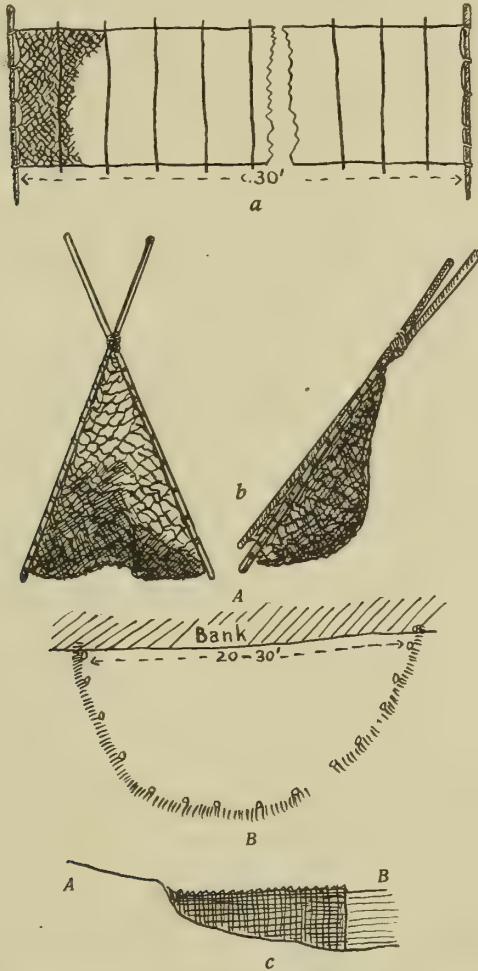


Fig. 3. Fishing nets and trap. *a*, drag net; *b*, scoop net; *c*, fish trap.

The humpback was occasionally shot with unfeathered arrows and cactus-spine hooks were used for small fish, but the most were caught with nets and traps in the sloughs during the flood season.

Two types of net were made:

(1) A large drag net hauled by two men. This net was of rectangular shape, as much as thirty feet long and four feet deep. It was woven of willow-bark twine and stiffened by vertical rods of arrowweed tied at the top and bottom. The end poles, held by the two fishermen, were usually of tougher mesquite or willow. After dragging the net vertically for some distance they brought the end poles together, stuck them into the loose mud and recovered the fish (fig. 3*a*).

(2) A smaller scoop net, fixed on a cross-frame (fig. 3*b*) and pushed through the water. The Mohave basketry scoop was not known.

Traps were built on shelving banks. They consisted of semi-circular walls of arrowweed three and a half to four feet high, reaching to water level, in which a gap of about two feet was left near the center of the arc. Crushed watermelon seeds were scattered to entice fish into the trap (fig. 3*c*).

SEASONS

Time was sometimes measured in moons, *xalya'*, in referring to a recent event, but no named lunar months were known and the calendar was seasonal. The year, *meta'mk*, was counted from one budding (of the mesquite and willow) to the next. *Ape'n* (spring) extended from budding to the rise of the flood. *Nikapē't* (summer, flood season) ended with the fall of the river in September. *Xetsuri'm* (fall, literally, getting cold) was a short, indefinite season lasting until about the middle of November. The period until the next budding was known as *xetsoruk* (winter, literally, got cold). The calendar of six repeated month names found among the Pueblos and in southern California was known only as a Diegueño practice.

HOUSES¹⁰⁰

The Yuma formerly lived almost entirely in open shelters—flat shades roofed with arrowweed (*ava' metkya'l*—shelter above). These were rectangular structures, extended at need by the addition of further poles.

Closed houses (*ava' cōpe't*) were also built, but were occupied only in winter. There were rarely more than one or two in a settlement and several families crowded into each during the cold spells.

¹⁰⁰ Joe Homer and Lincoln Johnson.

These houses were built in a depression or swale and the floor was excavated two or three feet until fine sand was reached. They were rectangular in ground plan and built around four center posts (fig. 4). The center posts were about eight feet high, the front and side posts four to five feet. The rear section of the roof sloped down more

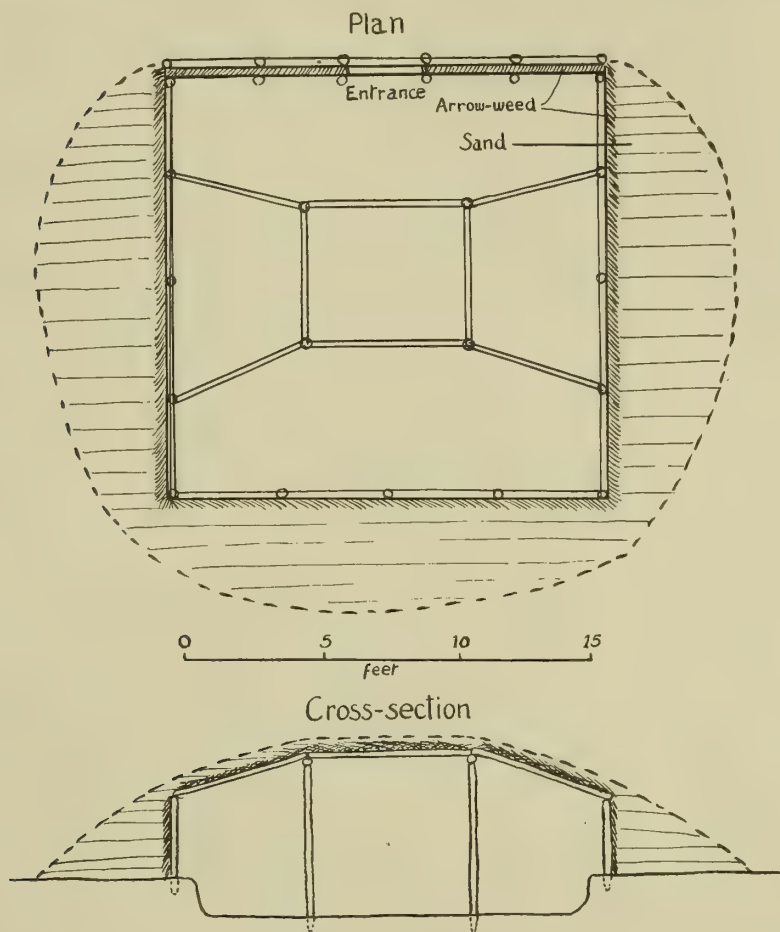


Fig. 4. Sand-covered house.

steeply and was supported by poles less than three feet high. The front wall was built of a double row of posts between which arrow-weed was tightly packed and retained by horizontal slats. A central section of this wall was left open and covered with a blanket or skin hanging. The walls of the sides and rear were built by tying horizontal slats closely together between the poles on the outside. Against

the slats a thick layer of arrowweed was placed, held in position by a bank of sand which reached to the roof when all the arrowweed packing had been placed in position. The roof was built by running poles across the center posts and from these to the side walls. These were straddled by another series of lighter poles and the whole covered with arrowweed and finally with loose stones and sand.

The interior measurements varied from twelve to about sixteen paces each way. The fire pit was toward the rear of the house behind the center poles. There was apparently no smoke hole. Storage granaries were frequently built on the roofs of these houses. The rectangular shade (*ava metkya'l*) was sometimes attached to the house and extended out from the front part of the roof to form a porch almost as large as the house itself.

The houses were built by the leaders. A *kwoxot* (chief), for example, was expected to have a house in which he could shelter all who asked. They were built by general labor, one man or family rarely undertaking the work alone. It was suggested also that such houses would not be burned at funerals unless the leader himself had died. The excavated floor, low doorways, and heavy sand covering of these houses gave early visitors the impression that they were excavated in sand hills.¹⁰¹

These sand-walled houses, which were abandoned some forty years ago, have been replaced by higher, flat-roofed dwellings said to have been adopted from the Mexicans. All four walls are built somewhat after the manner of the front wall in the aboriginal house. Horizontal slats are nailed between the inner and outer sides of the supporting posts and the space between packed with mud instead of arrowweed.¹⁰² This house type is now giving way to plank and galvanized iron shacks.

A small domed shelter (*ava aru'uk*—shade bent over) was also used, especially in the fields and after the flood when mosquitoes were troublesome. Willow and arrowweed branches were used to make this structure, which was very light and rarely more than three paces in diameter. A dung fire was built close to the narrow entrance hole to impede the entrance of mosquitoes.

A semicircular, roofless enclosure (*ava' tsoxw'er*) was built near the house or shade in which the women cooked and performed other

¹⁰¹ But cf. Heintzelman, 47.

¹⁰² Kroeber's account of the front wall of the aboriginal Mohave house indicates this type of construction, but my Yuma informant stated that among them two sets of upright poles were used as described. Kroeber, 2, 733-34 and fig. 63.

tasks when the wind or blowing sand interfered. This enclosure consisted of arrowweed stems about three feet high tied to a framework of stakes driven in the ground.

Trees were felled, shortened, and partly shaped by burning; other work was done with chipped stone knives. No informant knew of polished stone tools and all denied that the Yuma possessed them aboriginally.

POTTERY

Native pottery has practically disappeared but a few ollas are still made. Hipa Norton gave an account of the types made in her youth and drew sketches of their shapes (fig. 5). They were kwī'lyo, olla or water jar, from 18 inches to 2 feet high; tū'ekin, a spheroid cooking

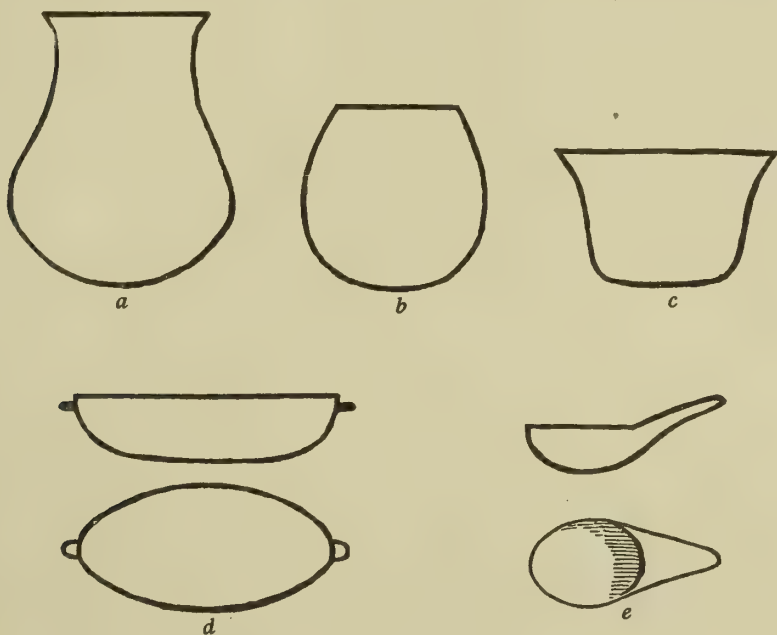


Fig. 5. Aboriginal pottery forms. *a*, kwī'lyō, olla, 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet high; *b*, tū'ekin, cooking pot, 8 inches to 1 foot 6 inches high; *c*, kwiski, serving bowl, 9 inches to 1 foot high; *d*, katē'l, roasting bowl, 2 feet long, 6 inches deep; *e*, kamotū, dipper, 8 inches long.

bowl, from 8 inches to 1½ feet high; kwiskī', serving bowl, from 9 inches to 1 foot high; katē'l, an oval roasting dish, about 2 feet long and 6 inches deep; and kamotu, a pottery dipper, used for serving. A large bowl known as kate'lhakem, of the form of the kwiskī' but

about 4 feet across, was also made to carry goods and children when crossing the river.

Kwí'lyo (ollas) were of two kinds: a carrying jar known as axa'nyamopa'iv which had a narrow and a strongly flared neck (pl. 52a); and a larger storage and cooling olla known as halyosē'v (literally, for drinking), which was sometimes over 2½ feet high and nearly 2 feet in diameter at the belly.

An account of the technique of pot making was given by xavtea'ts Roosevelt. Only one ware was made. Red clay from the mesa was soaked in water and mixed with finely ground decomposed granite from an outcrop to the north of Yuma. The damp mixture was wrapped in willow bark or rags and buried a few days. The pot was built up by coiling, using a rounded pebble anvil, kwilaxai, and a curved paddle of mesquite wood, kwiskokye, after which it was sun-dried for a day. Lugs but not handles were made. Black and red paints were sometimes applied with a bark brush. The paint frequently covered the entire outer surface of the pot. Mrs. Roosevelt remembered seeing geometrical designs in two colors (black and dark red), but never made any herself.¹⁰³

The pot was now warmed at the edge of a fire while small pieces of very dry willow and cottonweed were collected. For firing, the vessel was placed on a stone slab and covered with a pyramid of this dry wood which was allowed to burn out before the pot was removed.

BASKETRY

Apart from occasional storage baskets, basketry is no longer made. According to Iipa Norton four materials were formerly used: willow twigs, *Martynia* pods (kwaxato'n) obtained from the Pima, a reed (exo'r), and arrowweed (ipa). All basketry was coiled and three forms were regularly made: a shallow tray, akwisu't, usually from 2 feet to a yard in diameter and 6-9 inches deep; a basketry "olla," kwelto'n, particularly used for storing seeds; and an arrowweed storage basket, sikwiny.

Akwisu't was made with willow-rod coils. The willow had to be young stems, only a few months old, and were freshly picked in spring

¹⁰³ Kroeber, 2, gives a brief account of Mohave pottery designs. My informants recognized these as resembling the Yuma style, and the rough sketches of Trippel indicate great similarity. On the general problem of the distribution of pottery techniques in this area see Gifford, 3.

for basket working. They were split lengthwise, or shaved down into rods. Two rods were used for each coil, the coil being bound to the uppermost rod of the previous coil. Fresh rods were spliced to those already used and bound with kwaxaton. For binding, thin willow shreds were used for the white, and kwaxaton for the dark parts of the pattern. Willows used for binding were shredded, the "heart" strip taken out, boiled, and then shaved very thin. The central foundation disc was always made of kwaxaton which is suppler and easier to work. A small pointed mesquite stick was used to insert the binding strands. In the old days trays were often made entirely of willow.

Willow was not used for the kwelto'n, because food stored in it was distasteful. It was made entirely of the reed exo'r. The coil consisted of a bundle of several stems which were not prepared in any way. Each binding stitch connected two coils by passing under the previous coil and over the one in progress. The kwelto'n always had a narrow neck which splayed out above. One form used for storing seed was sealed after filling by curving over the mouth and sealing with basketry. The informant believed that the kwelto'n was made in imitation of an "olla" and that its name was derived from kwelyo—olla.

Arrowweed storage baskets, sikwi'ny, were roughly made, cylindrical containers as much as 5 or 6 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high. They were built up on a stout willow ring of two or more $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch stems, left open at the bottom, and placed on a platform or the roof of the house. The body was built up by birds-nest weaving. Lengths of arrowweed were cut, the leaves were left on and the butt ends pointed. The pointed ends were stuck in on both sides of the wall of the basket in the last completed coil, drawn across one another over the coil in progress and twisted into it, thus extending and forming part of the coil itself. Loose ends were trimmed away and when the arrowweed had dried, a thick rigid container was available for storing beans, corn, and mesquite pods (pl. 52b)

WEAVING¹⁰⁴

Weaving was restricted to coarse willow-bark strips and rabbit-skin blankets. Willow-bark twine was prepared from the bark of young trees about six inches in diameter. The bark, removed in long strips, was wrapped in a large bundle and immersed in a pond for a month. The inner fibrous bark was then easily peeled off and shredded into strips about half an inch wide. These strips were taken, two at a time and twisted, first separately and then together on the thigh to form a coarse twine which was used for the warp.

A horizontal loom, similar to the Piman,¹⁰⁵ was used for weaving. Two thin poles, about 1½ inches in diameter, were set up parallel on low stakes about 18 inches from the ground. The warp was a single continuous string which was wound to and fro from pole to pole. Thin ribbons of untwined bark formed the weft. A slender rod was used to separate the warp strands for insertion of the weft, which was beaten to position with a flat length of mesquite or willow. Before the poles were removed a strong thread was passed through in their place and twisted round the outer warp threads at the side. Unless the weave was left fairly loose the cloth would be harsh and unpliant. Breechclouts and small blankets were made by this technique (pl. 53).

Cotton (xa'tso), obtained from the Pima, was also occasionally woven in this manner, but for this the weft, as well as the warp, had to be spun. The threads were drawn out from the mass of raw cotton and twisted in the fingers. Two strings thus formed were twisted together on the thigh.

Rabbit-skin blankets were made on a similar frame. The warp consisted of long strings of willow-bark twine wrapped with strips of skin. This was stretched between the poles. Bean fiber was superior to willow twine for the "weft," which was twisted once around each warp element.

Rabbit-skin blankets were rare. Anza¹⁰⁶ remarked that their owners were considered rich, and my own informants said that the Yuma depended largely on the Yavapai, who were better hunters, for skins. In preparing the strings, the skins were first scraped free of flesh, rubbed on a stone, and softened by immersion in ponds and working with the hands. They were then cut in strips while still damp, wound round the twine, and stretched between poles to dry.

¹⁰⁴ Hipa Norton.¹⁰⁵ Cf. Russell, 148 and fig. 72.¹⁰⁶ Bolton, 4, 2:177.

RIVER NAVIGATION¹⁰⁷

Although the river was used extensively for traveling downstream and was frequently crossed, the Lower Colorado peoples had no boats or canoes. Single cottonwood logs were sometimes used by the Yuma to carry a small party or load down the river. Large pottery vessels were also used to ferry goods and children from one bank to the other, the swimmer pushing this receptacle in front of him. Individuals would also travel considerable distances on half-submerged floats. A bundle of rushes and canes was attached to the fore end of a relatively slender pole; the man sat astride the other end, which sank down, and propelled himself with his arms.

Rafts were also made of cottonwood logs and bundles of tule. Both were flat rectangular contrivances bound together with hide thongs, or bean-fiber twine. The larger reed rafts, *tuñil*, said to have been "as large as a house," were braced with cottonwood poles. They were more buoyant and also more readily constructed. For longer journeys a layer of earth was arranged at the rear on which a fire was built for cooking.

My informant assured me that entire families made two- and three-day trips traveling down from the Mohave country in this way.

SONGS

The songs of the Yuma belong to a style, shared with the Mohave, Diegueño, and probably other Yumans, which presents many remarkable features. The songs are arranged in groups or series, which should be sung as a whole. Each song refers to an incident in a myth on which the series itself is based. The song consists of a few disconnected words taken from the subject matter of the legend and is often meaningless apart from its context. Songs in the various Yuman languages, the original tongue being in general retained, have been interchanged among the various tribes. Other songs and more particularly the mourning songs, are largely untranslatable. Most songs are believed to have been received by individuals in dreams. Dreamed power is also necessary in order to sing traditional songs, including those known to have been adopted from other peoples. The character

¹⁰⁷ Steve Kelley.

of Yuman songs and those of the Yuma known to the Mohave, have been recorded by Kroeber.¹⁰⁸ A study of the Yuman musical style has recently been made by Herzog.¹⁰⁹

The following song series were heard, or reported as sung, by individuals who are at the present time the more renowned singers:

hura'v (lightning)—a relatively recent, but most popular song, said to have been dreamed by the present singer when he was a young man:

When he was a young man Wilson rose up into the sky while he was sleeping and saw there a place leveled off in a circle. Here there stood a group of young men and women dressed as in the old days in loincloths and willow-bark skirts. Each had a white eagle feather in the hair. They sang songs and danced in a circle winding in and out without touching each other.

In the center stood a small boy who was naked and carried a bow and one unfeathered arrow. This boy directed the singing, telling the story of a long journey two boys were making down below on earth. The boy could see all over the earth and described every mountain and all the animals as the travelers came to them. When the travelers came to important places the boy made the dancers sing. At one point the boy told the story of the death of Kukumat and the dancers sang for that.

Wilson's song repeats all the singing he heard in his dream, and he also tells of the travels as the small boy described them. The boy was Lightning; he is up there in the center of the circle all the time. When he shoots the arrow, it zig-zags across the sky because it has no feathers and comes down to strike the ground.

Wilson claims that his song will bring rain, for by singing it he makes the cloud spirits dance round as they did in his dreams.

tuma'npakaul—sung by Burns, but considered an old song; similar in name and content to the Mohave *tumanpa akyulya* (long Tumanpa).¹¹⁰

etseyer (birds)—sung by James Hammond; an old Yuma song, borrowed also by the Mohave.¹¹¹

tsuta'x—a harvest song sung beneath a shade roofed with corn stalks; the song refers to a story of a wading bird and was identified by Miguel as the same as the Mohave "*Chutaha*."¹¹² As in the latter, only a half-dozen words are used which are sung repeatedly for hours. Unless the reference and context of the words in the myth are known they are meaningless. This is not considered a Mohave song by the Yuma.

hanye' (frog)—said to have been sung to the accompaniment of a rasped and beaten basket.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Kroeber, 2, 755-87.

¹⁰⁹ Herzog.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 759.

¹¹¹ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 786.

¹¹² Cf. Kroeber, 2, 764.

¹¹³ Cf. Herzog, 214, and Densmore, 41.

hateca' (Pleiades)—sung after harvest time, now sung by Golding(?).

alyca' (deer?)—sung by Keehora, possibly related to the Mohave deer songs.

axta' amailya'e—no data.

xwetsoxwetso—said to be a Yuma song sung by Joe Homer, but possibly this song is the one later referred to as tsoxwets.

metxa motcets—a Yuma song no longer given but well remembered by the older men.

Several songs of foreign origin are very popular:

sikwetxot—sung by Felix Escalanta, a travel song said to come from the Diegueño. The words of both song and story are, however, Yuma throughout:

There was an old woman, akoi senuxav, who all her life would have nothing to do with men. One day te'kee (Gopher) thought he would like to have her. She had a curious custom which he knew about. She would go to a pond to bathe and cover the sloping bank with soft, wet mud and then slide down on her buttocks into the water. She would do this many times and Gopher dug himself into a hole at this place and lay waiting for her with his penis erect. The old woman came along and slid over him, and before she got back to her house, twin boys were born to her.

When they were young boys the twins moved east into enemy country. One day they saw some fine bamboos growing in a pond. They wished to make flutes with them but the water in the pond welled up so rapidly that they could not dive down to root up the bamboos. Finally, the younger brother transformed himself into a round stone and fell to the bottom of the pool. It was very deep and at the bottom he found White Beaver, who greeted him as his nephew, saying that no one had ever visited his home before. White Beaver offered his help and chewed through the base of a fine bamboo stem. The boy held on to the stem and rose with it to the surface. The elder brother snatched at the stem and claimed the thicker end. They quarreled, but finally the younger brother gave in. In the night spirits came to prepare and decorate the flutes.

The boys played on their flutes and the sound traveled to twin sisters who were living among the enemy. They were greatly excited by the music and set out to find its source. They finally reached the two boys and slept with them for one night before returning home. The boys determined to find the girls again and set off in their direction. But they were captured by a band of the enemy Maricopa. The Maricopa killed the younger boy. When he saw that his brother was dead, the other lay down and let the enemy kill him for he could not live alone.

One of the Maricopa girls had a child called kwiya'homa'r, to whom she told the story of the twin lovers. Later she neglected the boy, who was cared for by an older woman, a relative of the girl. Reaching manhood the son schemed to revenge his father and finally set fire to the enemy village, killing everybody but the old woman, with whom he set out into the west. They traveled together for many years, naming all the new animals they saw and telling them how to help men. Finally they reached a sea coast in the west. Here the boy transformed

the woman into a bird, kwelte'ek (meadow lark). She rose up into the sky while he himself walked down on to the beach and sprang up into the air, rising up into the heavens and became Thunder.

harraup—a Diegueño song (orup), sung by Narpi, a Kamya.

tsoxwets—a travel song said to have been borrowed from the Koxwan and sung in their tongue. It refers to another myth of the twins in which they visit enemy (Maricopa) country, and bring back a girl over whom they quarrel on their return.

Songs were not sung at the funerals witnessed,¹¹⁴ and my informants said that there was no singing until the keruk. The mourning songs, i.e., keruk and awaxom, are discussed later (p. 245). The former series relates to the creation and consists of a series of some fifty songs, of which about thirty are sung at the present time. The texts of the majority of these were obtained. Translation and explanation are given where possible, but the informant, although a leading singer, had learned by rote and was uncertain of meanings.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The gourd rattle (ekna'tL) is the usual accompaniment to songs and dances. Globular gourds are opened at the junction of the stalk, cleaned out, and dried. A handful of small pebbles are inserted and a wooden handle, about six inches long, fixed in the hole with arrowweed or mesquite gum. Rows of holes are punched in the surface of the gourd, forming patterns and increasing the resonance. The gourd is then painted, black on the upper half and red near the handle, or red with black stripes were the more usual designs in the past. No special significance attaches to the gourd rattle, which anyone may possess. All singers have one or more (fig. 6).

The deerhoof rattle (ta'sidL or mō'me) can be used only by the leader of the keruk songs in the mourning ceremony. Twenty or more hoofs are needed. These are pierced at the apex and threaded in pairs, one at each end, on lengths of cord. The cords are then looped up and bound together to form a handle (fig. 7).

For certain songs an inverted basketry tray is beaten with a stick or with a bunch of twigs tied together. The notched stick and scraper are not used.

¹¹⁴ Contrast Herzog, 184.

The flute (wilwil) and flageolet (wilwil melyaki'v; melyaki'v, wailing, noise in the throat) are now rare. They were used only by individuals and not at any group singings. The player was often a young man who wished to court a girl. He would sit near her house, or wherever she happened to be, and play without speaking to her. The instruments were made from a length of the cane axta, from 18 inches to 2 feet long. This included two or three notches which were

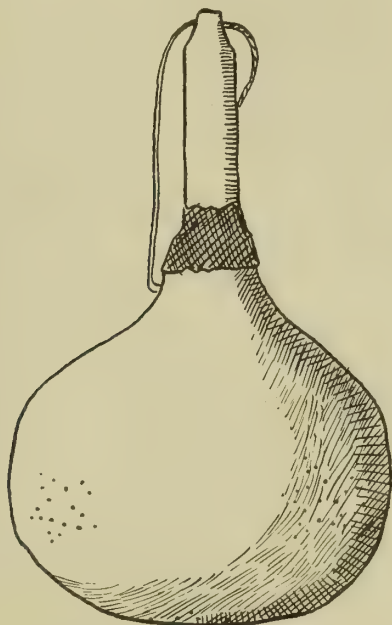


Fig. 6. Gourd rattle, 10½ inches long.

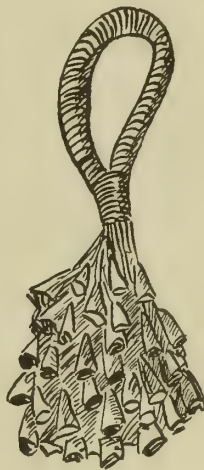


Fig. 7. Deerhoof rattle, about 9 inches long.

bored through inside and smoothed without. The flute was held almost vertically and blown across obliquely at the upper end. There were four stops in the middle section. For the flageolet one notch partition was pierced with only a small hole near the wall of the tube. An opening was made in the wall immediately below the notch and this half covered with a sliver of cane or a piece of bark. The stops, also four in number, were at the lower end and the player merely blew in at the top. Both types were decorated throughout their length with incised and painted designs for which squares and triangles of the smooth outer surface of the cane were removed, in order that paint might be applied (pl. 54).

GAMES

The games described by Yuma informants are similar to those recorded for the Mohave.¹¹⁵ Several field games were played, shinny, *asūta'v*, the ball race, *ktsō'orv*, and the stick and hoop game, *ortū'v*. The shinny stick was fashioned from a yard length of mesquite sharply curved round like a walking stick and flattened on one side.¹¹⁶ There were seven to eight players on each side and the game began in a scramble to unearth the ball with shinny sticks from the hole in which it was buried. Two parallel lines about a quarter of a mile apart, generally marked out with arrowweed stakes, were the goal lines. The game usually ended when one side had carried the ball across their opponents' line. Play was vigorous but entirely chaotic, both parties chasing after and huddling around the ball in an unorganized crowd. There were generally leaders who selected the teams but these exercised virtually no control over their side or the course of the game.

The ball race was played by two and occasionally more men, each of whom had a ball of mesquite wood about 3¼ inches in diameter.¹¹⁷ Starting level, the ball was lifted on one foot and flung as far forward as possible, chased, and sent forward again. The runners carried the ball in this way out and back over a prearranged course of two to five miles each way. The pole and hoop game, *orturv*, played between two men according to the scoring recorded for the Mohave, was the most popular of all pastimes.¹¹⁸

Archery contests were formerly frequent. A slim bundle of arrowweed tips, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, was thrown out as far as possible from the group of archers. It was stuck up in the ground where it fell and the competitors shot at it in turn. Those that hit the bundle received an arrow from each of the other players. This continued until one archer had all the arrows. The winner now threw the bundle into the air and shot at it with the arrows won from the others. If he hit the bundle he kept the arrow; if he missed, the arrow was returned to its original owner.

The gambling game, known as *tatū'δūlv*, was played at night by a camp fire between two groups of four, but differed from that of the

¹¹⁵ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 740-41.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Culin, 646 and fig. 844.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Culin, 682 and fig. 908.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Alareon, Heintzelman, 49, and ten Kate, 2, 108.

Mohave. One group held two sticks each, a black and a white. The members of the other party guessed in turn, dealing with one opponent at a time. Each guesser continued until he made a mistake. The game changed sides when the challenging side obtained all the fifteen counters.¹¹⁹ The sandhill guessing game was not recorded, but the women's "dice" game was formerly played. The short, semicylindrical pieces were about six inches long. A design was painted in red on the flat side. The thrower won if the painted side fell uppermost.¹²⁰

A ring and pin game, *akʷaʷ*, was played in the Mohave fashion, scoring being recorded on a spiral, but men as well as women were said to play.¹²¹

LEADERSHIP

The great changes of the last fifty years make it very difficult to ascertain the aboriginal organization of the Lower Colorado peoples. The Yuma, although they retain in their figures of speech and psychological attitudes strong traces of their earlier life, are, nevertheless, very vague as to their past organization. The irrigation of their territory by perennial canals has given much of their land considerable economic value, converting them into sedentary landowners who tend to abandon the old community life for the particularist activities of their farms.

I was able to obtain fragmentary information on the early organization of the Yuma settlements and attempted, by careful questioning, to coordinate these data. Two characteristic Yuma traits must, however, be borne in mind. Although they will go into elaborate and even fanciful detail in describing the places in which magical and mythological events occurred, and will give minute but unidentifiable descriptions of dream journeys, there is a remarkable lack of interest in the distribution of habitations and in actual organization. Unlike the river Kamya and the Kamya proper (Diegueño), the Yuma afford little information as to the past extent of their territory, the location of their fields, and movements necessitated by the vagaries of the flood. The details of everyday existence are always of minor interest. It is always far easier to obtain an informant's dreams and opinions on mythology than to evoke his memory of past conditions of life.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Trippel, 5. Cf. Culin, 327, who describes the play differently.

¹²⁰ Cf. Culin, 208-210 and figs. 280-282. Similar pieces were used by the Cocopa, Mohave, Maricopa, Diegueño, and Havasupai and dice of the same form are widely distributed through the Pueblo region.

¹²¹ Cf. Culin, 560, fig. 744.

This indifference to the mechanics of life extends also to much of their social organization. Sib exogamy is generally observed and its infringement was, until recently, severely frowned upon, but it was not deeply rooted in the emotional life. At the present time few persons know the names of all the sibs, and sib mates certainly do not form functional units. There is no evidence that the military or economic organization of the people was based on, or even integrated with the sib organization, and the existence of exogamous groups is not recorded in any of the Spanish or American accounts of the Yuma. Activities of all kinds were undertaken when there was a consensus of opinion among the people who happened to be gathered together at any one time.

Strong and enterprising personalities could, therefore, exercise considerable influence in virtue of their qualities. No prerogatives of clan, society, or grade existed to hamper the rise to leadership of a man of determined character. War expeditions are the one feature of their practical life which are considered worthy of remembrance and attention. Success in the numerous small skirmishes that constituted warfare in this region, was indispensable to welfare. It was the concrete expression of spiritual strength. To be severely beaten by an enemy or to draw back sluggishly and avoid attacks would bring down scorn and shame, for Yuma mysticism was essentially directed at the acquisition and manifestation of great "power," power which should make them invincible before their enemies. The need of bold, adventurous leaders who could rouse the enthusiasm of the people, convince them of their tribal greatness, and also plan wisely that they might not suffer defeat follows inevitably from this ideal of invincibility. There is, however, no evidence of any set organization for the electing and empowering of leaders; "dream power" again afforded the medium through which an individual laid claim to authority. Leadership was theoretically obtained by vision or dream from one or the other of the spirits who live forever on *avikwamē'* and were appointed by the Creator to appear to those whom he thought worthy.

One informant¹²² gave me an account which is very illuminating and probably affords a fair picture of the stable anarchy of aboriginal Yuma society:

You know how some men are quick and strong and know the things to do, how people like to do things for them, and how they have a gift for getting everybody cheerful. Well, those men were leaders (*kwoxot*). When a man knew he

¹²² Miguel.

had the power to be a good leader, he told his dreams. If his dreams were good, his plans would be followed, but if they were poor and stupid others would tell him so and he could do nothing. Sometimes men struggled with each other to lead war parties and arrange daily affairs. Then each would try to get more of the people on his side, giving feasts to his friends and encouraging them to speak of his wisdom. But it was not long before we knew who was the better man and he became leader and gave positions to others. If a leader acted stupidly, it meant that his power had deserted him and it was time to have another to decide things. A man did not become kwoxot because his father had been kwoxot, although some families were more powerful than others and had a lot of good men.

In old times the Yumas did not live altogether in one place, but were scattered in little groups along the river at the foot of the mesa. Each group planted its corn and beans in the same place for many years. Each of these bands had its own leaders. Young men, chosen for their endurance and reliability, were used for their runners between the camps. They were always going to and fro with messages so that whenever anything big was planned, a battle or a feast, all the leaders of the villages would get together and decide what was to be done. If the head leader got sick, the leaders from various bands were called in and they decided who should be the new head leader. Sometimes their plan did not work. If the people liked another better they listened to him and gave the chosen man the cold shoulder. If he was strong and wise enough to hold the people, the popular man became the regular head in a little while. It was the same if the leaders disputed among themselves. Nobody did anything and the man that was really wanted soon came out top.

The kwoxot was a tribal leader, an authority to whom appeal might be made on any matter of dispute, but more significant as an embodiment of spiritual power than as a lawgiver or executive.

It is clear from native accounts of the character and means of acquiring this office that it cannot have been hereditary.¹²³ This is confirmed by the Spanish data of the eighteenth century. Kino¹²⁴ refers without comment to the Captain and Governor of the Yuma. It is to be presumed that these are two titles for a single leader, but Kino is nowhere explicit on this point. In the time of Garcés and the Anza expedition, the Yuma kwoxot was the very remarkable man "Olleyquotequiebe,"¹²⁵ later known as Palma.

Extremely anxious that his people should receive the benefits of Christianity and Spanish civilization, he first became known to the Spaniards when he made a journey to Tubac to solicit a visit to his country. His devout character, of which the Fathers speak with warmth and gratitude, was associated with considerable ability and strength of personality. He impressed the Spaniards so considerably

¹²³ Gifford, 4, 116, states for the Cocopa that "the . . . Chieftain was selected by the people, a son succeeding his father only in case the people considered him to have sufficient ability."

¹²⁴ Bolton, 2, 2:204.

¹²⁵ Wheezy One, with reference to his asthmatic breathing.

that they write with unusual fullness of the source and extent of his power. Palma himself in a letter to Buccarelli¹²⁶ stated that he changed his title from cofot (kwoxot) to capitan presumably to show his admiration of Spanish ways. In this letter he claims "supreme rule by right of primogeniture from time immemorial," but there is little doubt that Palma or Anza were endeavoring to impress Buccarelli with the dignity of the chieftaincy, for Font¹²⁷ states specifically that the chieftainship was not hereditary among the Yuma, and that Palma succeeded another chief whose son figures in the diary but has no position of rank. Font also makes the acute observation that the chief's "rule and authority should not be understood as very vigorous, for since the Indians are so free and live so like animals and without civilization, sometimes they pay no attention to their chief even though he may give them orders";¹²⁸ and further, that Palma is chief "because of his intrepidity and verbosity as is usually the case among Indians."¹²⁹ That members of eminent families were, in practice, the most likely to have authority is, however, indicated by the fact that the sons of both Palma and Pablo are described by Fages as petty chieftains in his diary of the punitive expedition sent against the Yuma in 1781-82.¹³⁰

We also learn from the diarists of the Anza expedition that the village near Pilot Knob had a leader of its own, whom they called Pablo. A sullen and perhaps treacherous man, Pablo was disliked by the Spaniards, while he in turn resented their presence. But his authority was definitely subordinate to that of Palma and he attempted no overt opposition.

The last kwoxot is said to have died several generations ago,¹³¹ but it is clear from the field data still obtainable that the term connoted a title rather than an office. Whatever the historical development may have been, there can be little doubt that although there were duties and functions associated with the title, the title was, in more recent times, acquired by voluntarily undertaking the duties rather than by any definite elective procedure. There might be more than one kwoxot within the tribe at the same time. Miguel claims to have been told

¹²⁶ November 11, 1776 (actually written by Anza), in Bolton, 4, 5:397 ff.

¹²⁷ Font's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:102.

¹²⁸ *Op. cit.*, 4, 4:102. ¹²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 4, 4:69. ¹³⁰ Priestley, 25, 47.

¹³¹ He was probably the Santiago whom Heintzelman deposed from authority in his efforts to crush native insubordination (Heintzelman, 46). The next "chief" was Pasqual, chosen by Heintzelman himself in 1852, "despite the violent opposition of several claimants." He had previously been the "military leader." It is to be noted that Pasqual was not succeeded by his own son, but by an unrelated man, Miguel, according to Pasqual's own wish. Cf. Trippel, 567-568.

by his father that when the latter was a child there were two kwoxot. Asked for his opinion on such a situation he explained that there would be no rivalry between them because the men with power among the Yuma did not quarrel but worked together for the good of the people and that since the kwoxot was a source of great power, the more kwoxot there were, the more power and safety there would be for the people.

The functions of the kwoxot are most clearly understood from native attempts at definition:

Whoever has many followers and keeps an enemy scalp is usually called kwoxot. People gather round his house whenever anything is happening, for good times, funerals and meetings.

Kwoxot had to feed and look after poor people. He had to get together a big store of food for this. His followers gave him what they could spare, but this was not for his use, only for him to give away to the needy. When there was a death, the family burned its house and almost everything it had. Then they were very poor, without shelter and short of food, but they could go to the kwoxot and he would look after them; give them a place to live and food to eat. The kwoxot always did this for he was supposed to be kind to everyone, especially to widows. If he needed food for these people, he called on his followers and each gave a share of their stores.

Kwoxot was the rain maker (*hū'vocāma*). Sometimes other men have this power but usually only kwoxot. He could bring a thunderstorm to confuse the enemy, and also make rain in the spring to make plants grow.

Kwoxot can be understood by all living creatures, by animals, and plants. He can control them, so he can drive out sickness and prevent it from attacking the people. He has the biggest powers of any man, is strong and happy and tells the people what they must do to remain healthy. Kwoxot might sometimes cure diseases, but as a rule he did not, he used his powers to keep everybody well. Men with smaller special powers cured the sick.

Kwoxot had little to do with arranging ceremonies, he just did his part like anyone else. But he made the best speeches at these times. For it was by his speeches that people knew he had great power and was kwoxot.

A man who believed he had the power of kwoxot told his dreams to the old people. They could tell from the dreams how much power he had. If he had full power he became kwoxot. When a man became kwoxot like that, he did not interfere with another kwoxot but worked alongside with him and continued when the older man died. But as a rule the spirits only gave full power to one man at a time so there was only one kwoxot.

Kwoxot gave feasts and people came to his house to eat and sing and dance when the war parties returned or whenever there was to be a good time.

The Yuma kwoxot clearly parallels the *kohota* of the Mohave and, like the latter, he undertook two specific tribal duties connected with warfare, the care of scalps and the guarding of captives.¹³² These duties are still very clear in the native mind and are readily specified as most characteristic of his position.

¹³² Kroeber, 2, 745 ff.

But the kwoxot did not control or direct military operations. Indeed, he is frequently mentioned in the war tales as remaining behind in the settlement, awaiting the warriors and the captives they should bring. Moreover, the idea of the kwoxot engaging in battle is foreign to them. Except on rare occasions when a Yuma settlement was surprised and in danger of defeat, his duty was to remain apart from the battle, preserving the strength and integrity of the tribe in the security of his own person.

The control and direction of warfare lay, therefore, in separate hands, those of the kwánámi (brave man), the war leader. The war leader had authority throughout the tribe, sent messengers to gather war parties, and decided the scope of the expeditions. He was expected, however, to defer to the wishes of the kwoxot who "often advised him not to be too restless." The kwánámi was distinguishable in battle for he alone of the warriors covered his body entirely with black paint and wore two eagle feathers in his hair. He would fight with club alone. He gained his position by slow increase of authority in a career of campaigning until he succeeded a predecessor slain in battle, or could supersede him in the eyes of the warriors, for small war parties often went out independently and sometimes contrary to the wishes of the kwánámi. If a warrior organized several successful raids he could count on many adherents to his next plan, if well timed. Eventually encountering the opposition of the kwánámi he would stake his reputation on the success of an independent expedition. If beaten by the enemy it was clear that his power was negligible and inferior to that of the war leader, but should he succeed despite the remonstrances and warnings of the kwánámi, he demonstrated great power and might supplant the old leader. But such usurpations were rare, for the Yuma, although courageous and enterprising, held in deep respect the accredited power of a leader, since that power was derived, not from his own character or ambitions, but from Kumastamxo and the spirits. "A man would not try to supplant his leader unless he had himself received stronger power in his own dreams."

A statement by Heintzelman indicates dual leadership of kwoxot and kwánámi. In his efforts to break the power of the tribe he had deprived the two "chiefs," Santiago and Cavallo en Pelo, of their power, and he says of them:

I could never get from them the difference between Santiago and Cavallo en Pelo; they evidently looked up to them with great deference. My impression is the former was the civil and the latter the war chief.¹³³

The Yuma ranged over considerable territory and were subdivided into a number of distinct bands, each with its settlement. Although they did not threaten tribal unity, these settlements were relatively stable and autonomous. There is no evidence that they were aligned with the sib system and men frequently, and perhaps usually, married within their own band. Each band had its village leaders, known as pi'pa taxá'n (good for the people). These were not limited in number but included the more active heads of the families living in the village who met frequently but informally to decide any public business. The pi'pa taxá'n were the final authorities within the village. They decided where the shelters and winter houses should be built, and whether the site of the village should be moved. Private quarrels were adjusted by their arbitration, and their acquiescence was sought before taking the life of a doctor. They appointed runners who maintained communication between the several villages and the allied tribes, especially the Mohave.¹³⁴ Joint meetings of the pi'pa taxá'n of several villages were held in times of crises, for example when the flood had failed or when the Pima and Maricopa were expected to invade Yuma territory.

No regular procedure for the election of the pi'pa taxá'n was known to my informants nor was there a definite chief among them. The approval of the kwoxot would be sought in all affairs of tribal importance, but otherwise the strongest personality and ablest debater dominated their deliberations, which were often noisy and interminable. That some individual usually dominated the situation is suggested by Heintzelman's general statement that:

There is a chief to each band and he acts in all important matters with the members of his band. Any matter affecting the whole tribe is determined on by the principal men of the different bands. I think the chieftaincy is hereditary but not followed rigidly.¹³⁵

Membership of this democratic village council was acquired by cooption. "If a man knew how to do something well, or was wise in advice, he was asked to come and help decide, and in time became a pi'pa taxá'n." Furthermore, absolute seniority was no qualification for a voice in these matters. The village council was essentially an executive body from which the senile were retired. "Men when they are old become weak and lose their vision, their power goes from them and they give up to younger people, or after a time people will take no notice of them." At the present time it is very conspicuous that the oldest men have relatively little authority. The "committees"

¹³³ Heintzelman, 46.¹³⁴ Cf. Stratton, 220 and 226.¹³⁵ Heintzelman, 46.

which arrange the singings and mourning ceremonials consist of active men in their forties and early fifties such as Miguel and Johnson, while Manuel Thomas, a very old man of considerable knowledge, is not consulted and takes no active part. Joe Homer, although the self-accredited authority on religious matters, is largely ignored in practice and has no executive authority.

Trippel¹³⁶ purports to describe an elaborate political organization including a police system, "sheriff," judges, and captains appointed by the chief to rule the various districts for a term of years. Some such organization may have been instituted by Heintzelman but it is almost certainly not aboriginal. No traces of it appear in the Spanish records, the alleged titles are unknown at the present time, and the whole scheme is foreign to the native attitude toward government.

It appears from these accounts that the Yuma were previously segregated in a number of bands, each centering around a favorable section of the river bottom in which crops were grown. There is little evidence that these bands were clan groups or lineages, although Trippel says that the families in a "rancheria" were usually related.¹³⁷ Each band had its own leaders who were not hereditary chiefs but derived their authority from popular estimation of their worth and "power." There is little doubt that the aboriginal organization was so loose and the scattering of settlements so extensive that there was comparative autonomy and independence of the village units. Only in time of stress was the authority of any leader-in-chief exerted over the entire people.

Despite this segregation, tribal solidarity was strong and a tribal leader, probably head man of one of the more powerful groups, was recognized as leader of the people. The need for such an office was apparently strongly felt. The Yuma is arrogantly conscious of his distinctness from the other surrounding peoples. His mythology and religious belief centers around the concept of spiritual power and there can be little doubt that the tribal leader derived his authority from the display of those qualities of superior judgment and force of personality which are believed by the Yuma to be supernaturally bestowed. No inevitable sanctity attached to any leader; should his power appear to fail, his dreams were at once called in question and unless he could rehabilitate himself by wise action and the claim of further visionary experience, his authority was at an end.

¹³⁶ Trippel, 568-570.

¹³⁷ Trippel, 573.

The curious blend of mysticism, respect, and realistic criticism with which leadership is surrounded is Southwestern rather than Californian in quality, and the absence or even denial of the hereditary principle sets the Yuma organization apart from that of most Californian groups. Among the Mohave Kroeber found a practically functionless hereditary title, *hanidhala*, which he considered to be a corruption of the Spanish "general," and was probably modern. The true leaders, *kohota*, war leader, and doctor (*kwathidhe*), obtained their power individually through dreaming.¹³⁸ Chieftainship was also non-hereditary among the Pima.¹³⁹ Among the Yuman-speaking Havasupai¹⁴⁰ and also the Walapai,¹⁴¹ it was a vague function slowly acquired by increasing influence in public exhortation and debate, but likely to continue in the same paternal line.

In California, however, the concept of hereditary chieftainship was well established except in the northwest, where wealth supplanted hereditary prestige.¹⁴² Among the Southern Shoshoneans (*Serraño*, *Cahuilla*, *Cupeño*, and *Luiसेño*), where the *sib* was the ceremonial unit and a true paternal lineage, the hereditary principle was followed both for the ceremonial chief and his assistants.¹⁴³ Among these people tribal cohesion was extremely weak and their organization, based on localized kin groups, presents the strongest contrast with the tribal units of the Lower Colorado.

The Diegueño,¹⁴⁴ although a Yuman people sharing some features of the religious outlook of the Yuma, approximate in social organization to the Southern Shoshoneans. Non-agricultural and relatively peaceful like the latter, they lived in localized *sib* or lineage groups, each with its hereditary leader whose functions were also primarily ceremonial. Among the Northern Diegueño there is an indication of village chiefs (*kwapai*) as well as clan leaders. The organization of these people was, however, seriously disturbed by the Spanish missions and it is probable that aboriginally their organization differed as markedly as that of the Southern Diegueño and the Shoshonean from that of the river tribes.

¹³⁸ Kroeber, 2, 745. The Havasupai, however, use the term *hanáta/vá* (very good) as a vague chiefly title, which may throw doubt on the etymology of *hanidhala*.

¹³⁹ Russell, 195.

¹⁴¹ Kroeber, verbal information.

¹⁴⁰ Spier, 3, 235 ff.

¹⁴² Kroeber, 2, 832-33.

¹⁴³ Cf. Strong, W. D., 15, 56-59, 105-07, 163, 249-53, 292. Kroeber, 2, 719 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Spier, 1, 309.

SIBS

The Yuma have a patrilineal exogamous system, of which twenty-three existing or recently extinct sibs¹⁴⁵ (cimū'l) were attested by informants.

xavtea'ts hākwi'ts. Totems (nye'dsa'wen): Frog, hanyē'; Corn, taḡi'ts; Moon, xelya; Cricket, e'nmolol. "Came from the western coast."

xavtea'ts kwātea'n. Totems: Corn; Moon, i.e., Yuma xavtea'ts, frequently referred to as the premier sib among the Yuma.

xavtea'ts tuḡi'l. Totems: Corn; Moon. A warlike sib.

xavtea'ts cetmadḡo'n. Totems: Corn; Moon.

xavtea'ts anyi'k. Totem: Corn.

xavtea'ts hapu'k. Totems: Frog; Corn. Cf. Piman "sib" a'pūki given by Russell, 197.

xavtea'ts xetamu'n. Totems: Corn (Fish—tamu'n? (M. T.)).

hi'pa. Totems: Coyote; Moon. "Hipa has moon namesake because Coyote is in the moon. He went up to make love to moon because she was so beautiful and he never came away." (M. T.) P. M. and J. H. considered that hi'pa had always the implication of alien. "Hipa is a foreign name always." But M. T. and H. R. claimed that there was a pure Yuma clan called Hipa alone.

hi'pa halteaḡu'm. Totem: Coyote (ha'təlwe). Derived from the neighboring northern people, the halteaḡu'm.

hi'pa panya'. Totems: Coyote (Frog, according to M. T.; P. M. denies this). Derived from the Maricopa. The Yuma word for Maricopa is xetpanya' (P. M.).

hi'pa xetpa'. Totem: Coyote. "xetpa is the Yuma word for Pima. This word also means coyote among the Maricopa and in ceremony by Yuma" (P. M.).

li'o'ts. Totems: Clouds, akwe'; Buzzard (?Raven), ace'. P. M. believes this sib originated with the Mohave.

li'o'ts xetpa'. Totems: Coyote; Clouds. J. H. did not know this sib, which is claimed by M. T.

li'o'ts kwe'stamuts. Totem: Clouds(?). Now extinct, believed by P. M. to have practiced exposure of the dead.

li'o'ts hatsmiya'tL. Totem: Cloud(?). Derived from the Diegueño, according to M. T.

¹⁴⁵ The term sib is used throughout to connote a patrilineal exogamous group; for the corresponding matrilineal group the term "clan" is used.

ma've'. Totem: Rattlesnake, a've'.

ma've' metāma'i. Totem: Sidewinder (rattlesnake), eksa'.

elymu'e. Totems: Deer, akwa'k; Screwbean, e'i'e. elymu'e is claimed to be an archaic word meaning deer.

mat'a'. Totem: Chaparral Cock (road-runner), telpo.

kwecakū'. Totem: Willow bark headring, kweekō (for carrying pots and bundles). Now extinct, said to have been an insignificant sib (P. M.; J. H.).

xākei'. Totem: Red mud, mātāwi't. (M. T.)

xalpō't. Totems: Dispersal of the People, matcelpō't; Ashes, xamū'l. xelpō't = dispersal. This clan is considered mythologically as the last group that asked for a name, after which the people scattered in various directions.

vaxa's. Totem: Beaver, ape'n. Very small and believed to be "a Mohave clan which drifted in among the Yuma a long time back." (P.M.)

The following sib names are reported by Harrington and Gifford, but were not obtained from my informants:

*Harrington:*¹⁴⁶

sin'kwa'l. Totem: Deerhide (eagle—Gifford). Diegueño according to P. M.

cikupa's. Totem: Red ant, ikwī's; teamaḍul according to Gifford.

estamaḍum. Totem: Insect. A remark of Gifford's (164) that estamaḍum = xavtea'ts suggests that this = my cetmadḍon.

*Gifford:*¹⁴⁷

sikuma. Totem: Dove. Also recorded by Gifford for Cocopa, Kamia, and Koxwa'n; probably intrusive.

sikus. Totem: ?. Cited also for Cocopa as salt; probably intrusive.

teia. Totem: Night hawk, uru. Diegueño according to P. M.

Although sib membership is inherited in the male line the sib name is taken as a personal name only by women. The sibs are not nameless, however, as Kroeber has suggested. Sib names are, indeed, used only in referring to women, but the sib group is referred to by a collective term composed of the prefix pa (from pīpa, people) and the sib name, e.g., pa'xavtea'ts. The sib title is sometimes phonetically modified in this usage, e.g., ma've (snake people are known as pamavi'ts). This usage became apparent in discussing origins and ceremonials with

¹⁴⁶ Harrington, 344-45.

¹⁴⁷ Gifford 4, 158 ff., tables 1 and 2. The lists were in the first instance taken from the agency records, in which the names of Cocopa, Kamya, and other foreign women living with the Yuma would appear.

Joe Homer. The term was not generally used to refer to modern sib groups, but it appeared that this was due to the almost complete decay of sib function.

Among the sibs there are several groups which share a common name, no less than sixteen fall into four groups in this way. There has in recent times been some amalgamation of sibs and a breakdown of exogamy, but old informants such as Joe Homer, Manuel, and Hipa Norton are all agreed that there were originally several quite distinct sibs with similar first names, but distinguished in the second name. Their relation to one another was of the same order as that to any other sib. For instance, a *hi'pa halteaḍum* could marry a *hi'pa panya'*, etc. This is borne out by the genealogical table obtained from one informant. (In recent years several sibs have become extinct and in consequence the various *hi'pa*, for example, have felt themselves more closely knit, tending to develop even into a single exogamous unit. The full effect of this has, however, been masked by the decay of the exogamous rule which "the young people don't want to bother about." It is therefore impossible to ascertain, far less demonstrate, what the precise relationship of these similarly named sibs was in the past.) It was neither suggested nor admitted that they cooperated or reciprocated in any social function. Where they had any views, my informants believed them to have been as distinct from one another as from any other. Some original association would, however, appear to be indicated by the fact that they share common "totems," but they can scarcely be regarded as phratries since they never function as a group. The frequency of alien tribal names in the second term, e.g., *hi'pa halteaḍu'm*, *hi'pa panya'*, suggests that they may have originated with the arrival of foreign groups among the Yuma. These would in some instances have belonged to a sib of similar name in their own tribe. They may have retained this name but have been further distinguished by their tribal name, and have at the same time maintained exogamy only in relation to their own people.

Particular animals or objects are associated with the various sibs. Among those of similar first name there is a common totem, e.g., *xavtea'ts*—Corn, *hi'pa*—Coyote, and sometimes in addition, a second animal or object specific to one alone. The attitude toward these "totems" is perhaps best expressed in the English word namesakes adopted by the natives to describe them.

But the possession of "namesakes" is now only vaguely understood. Joe Homer said all *xavtea'ts* have the same, i.e., frog, corn,

moon, and cricket. Other informants claimed more for xavtea'ts hákwí'ts than other xavtea'ts which have only "corn" and according to Hipa Norton, also "moon." Manuel, who recorded the extinct sib xavtea'ts xe'tamun, believed it to possess exclusively the fish namesake given. Miguel doubted this and considered it an attempt at etymological explanation.

No observance or belief was found to be correlated with these totemic names, no theory of avoidance or descent was suggested by my informants who offered no explanation for their existence and showed little interest in their origin. The totemic concept is, indeed, tenuous and weak.

Reference is made in the keruk mythology to certain ritual prerogatives appertaining to one sib, pamaví'ts, to build the keruk house. These usages are now obsolete but no systematic division of ceremonial activities among the sibs was indicated in the mythology of the accounts of ritual.

Women in addition to the sib name also frequently use another name derived from some characteristic feature or activity of the namesake, as mave'tēkv (tēkv—creeping closer all the time). These names are adopted in childhood without ceremony.

In old age, i.e., when the hair is turning grey, the sib name is prefixed with akoi—old woman. Sometimes the sib name is contracted, or the namesake used instead, e.g.,

hí'pa: akoi hí'pa

li'ō'ts xetpa': akoi xetpa'

elymu'e: akoi'akwa'k (akwak—deer)

Men's names have no relation to sib affiliation.

Although only a few, but those the most important, e.g., li'ō'ts and xavteats, of the sib titles, are common to the other river tribes, the type is the same.¹⁴⁸ Descent is everywhere patrilineal and the totemic references are of varied character, including birds, animals, plants, natural and cultural objects.

It will be observed that there is in the Yuma system no trace of moiety organization, and practically no ceremonial function associated with the sib. The sibs had no "chiefs" or ceremonial leaders. The Yuma sibs are, therefore, radically distinct from those of the Southern Shoshoneans to the west.¹⁴⁹ The non-totemic localized sibs of the Diegueño are also of the Shoshonean type, and among them, too, the sib is the ceremonial unit.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Gifford, 4, tables 1, 2 and 3.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Strong, and Gifford, 4.

The Yuma organization is similarly distinct from the somewhat obscure conditions existing among the Pima and Papago in which five non-exogamous groups of patrilineal descent are grouped in moieties.¹⁵⁰ These groups, which may be obsolescent sibs, are not localized, but members of most of them occur in every village. The Papago, strangely enough, consider that members of any one group are not related but that the inhabitants of a single village are, and village exogamy is practiced.¹⁵¹

The other river tribes, however, with the exception of the recently intrusive Kamya who retain in part the Diegueño system, closely parallel the Yuma both in the type of sib organization, in its divorce from ceremonial activity, and also in several of the sib and totemic names used. The Maricopa, although so long resident with the Pima, retain the river system.¹⁵²

The sibs of the river tribes are, therefore, distinct in pattern and function from those of neighboring areas and have practically only patrilineal descent in common. They have scarcely penetrated the tribal life. Gifford suggests a parallel between the practice of using the sib title to indicate the women and the personal names of totemic significance among the Miwok.¹⁵³ The resemblance, however, is not specific and close.

It is to be observed that while among the Diegueño and Shoshoneans, where Puebloan ceremonial traits are observable, the sibs are named territorially and have no totemic reference, among the river tribes, where there is no trace of these Puebloan ceremonial features, one yet finds such common Southwestern sib titles as corn, cloud, frog, tobacco, rattlesnake, and coyote.

While we have no data at present with which to trace the relations of the river system, it would appear probable that it is a long established variant, which can scarcely be derived from the other neighboring types of organizations. There is an undoubted correlation between the restricted function of the sibs and the strength of tribal feeling among the Lower Colorado peoples, but there is no evidence that these sibs have been developed or adapted from localized lineages and their alien character in this region suggests that further knowledge of aboriginal organization in northern Mexico may disclose their relationship to a wider system.

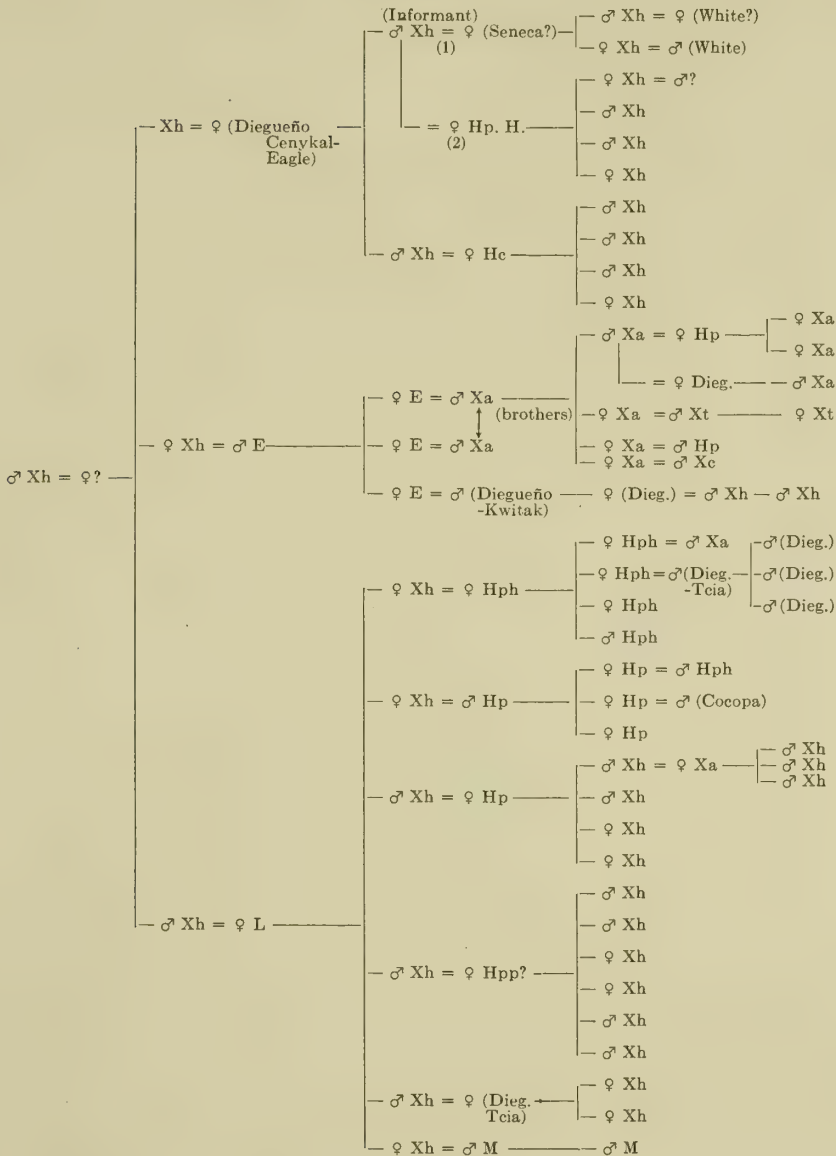
¹⁵⁰ Russell, 197; Curtis, 2, 9.

¹⁵¹ Kroeber, in Gifford, 4, 177.

¹⁵² Cf. Gifford, 2, tables 1, 2, and 3; and Gifford, 4.

¹⁵³ Gifford, 5, 142, and 4, 219.

GENEALOGY



Sib names abbreviated:

Xh—Xavtea'ts Hák-wits
 Xa—Xavtea'ts Anyik
 Xt—Xavtea'ts Tuðil
 Xc—Xavteats Cetmadðon
 Hp—Hi'pa
 Hph—Hi'pa Ha'lteaðom

Hpp—Hipa Panya'
 E—Elmu's
 M—Ma've'
 L—Li'ð'ts

Male ♂; female ♀.

Names are perforce withheld.

KINSHIP

The Yuma kinship system has been recorded and analyzed by Gifford in his elaborate comparative study of Californian Kinship Terminologies.¹⁵⁴ It was checked in the course of my field work but apart from minor phonetic distinctions, no divergence was found.¹⁵⁵ The most striking characteristics are the development of sex and age distinctions, and the elaborate cousin terminology. A woman does not distinguish the sex of her children, the father does. Correspondingly a man and woman use distinct terms for the father, but the same for the mother. Siblings are distinguished as younger brother, younger sister, older sibling, paternal, and maternal sibling. Paternal uncles and maternal aunts are distinguished as older and younger, maternal uncles and paternal aunts are not. The children of a man's brother and of a woman's sister are distinguished according to the relative age of the parents. A man's cross-cousins are distinguished as to sex, a woman's are not. Maternal parallel cousins and a woman's paternal parallel cousins are not distinguished as to sex, but a man's paternal male parallel cousin is distinguished from the general term for paternal parallel cousin (W. S., or female cousin M. S.). Second cousins are siblings, older or younger terms being used not according to the actual age of the cousins but to that of the original pair of siblings, two or more generations removed, through whom they are ultimately related. No distinction according to the cross or parallel cousinship of the parents appears. Step relations tend to be equated with the siblings of grandparents and their reciprocals, and parents-in-law with the spouses of uncles and aunts.

The distinctive characteristics of this system are found among the other Yuman speaking groups, Cocopa, Mohave, Kamyá, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Havasupai in lesser degree, among the south Californian Shoshoneans: Cahuilla, Cupeño, Serrano, Luiseño. In his Yuman type Spier¹⁵⁶ also includes the Plateau Shoshoneans (Wind River, Uintah Ute, Southern Ute), the Papago, the Northern Tepehuane, and the relatively remote Kitanemuk, Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Southwestern Pomo, and possibly the Biloxi. But the Yuma them-

¹⁵⁴ Gifford, 1, 62 ff.

¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately the only available informant competent to supply the data (Patrick Miguel) had also served as Gifford's main informant.

¹⁵⁶ Spier, 2, 75.

selves are, according to Gifford's statistical analysis, the most specialized of the Californian group.¹⁵⁷ While the Diegueño terminologies show considerable Southern Shoshonean influence, the Yuma remain almost entirely unaffected.

PERSONAL NAMES

The Yuma are very secretive about personal names. The name of a dead person may never be mentioned among themselves nor may that name be given to another. In taking a name a man must be certain that the proposed name was not used by anyone recently dead. The use of personal names in certain contexts may be highly insulting; it would perhaps be more exact to say that in abuse or ironic comment the use of the personal name is an added insult or may be the indication that criticism is implied. An occurrence of this kind took place in my presence between two of my informants, the one addressed being extremely annoyed by the otherwise mild remark.

Women did not formerly use personal names but were identified by their sib names. As children they were given nicknames describing some feature of the "totem," but these were not often used when they were grown.¹⁵⁸ As children, boys have nicknames after some characteristic activity. The formal name is given at about the time of the initiation rite. It is announced at a feast which is little more than an advertising medium. This name might never be changed but a man who wished to call attention to himself and gain the rewards of hospitality would frequently take a new name as the occasion for a feast.

I was able to obtain men's names from one informant. There are apparently no set forms from which names may be chosen; indeed, the invention of an interesting name is frequently the aim. They do, however, fall into well defined groups:

1. Names derived from natural or cultural objects:

etcá'e'r anok, Little bird.

etcá'e'r axwe't, Red bird.

apu'k komaxa'n, Admirer of yellow beads.

maxwe't komaxa'n, Admirer of the bear.

eðolyū't Boiled willow (leaves and pith "tea").

sotik anyai, Sotik light (sotik alleged to be untranslatable).

¹⁵⁷ Gifford, 1, 200.

¹⁵⁸ See p. 145.

2. Names referring to personal characteristics:

- eme'vālāka's, Splayed toes.
 iwa kwispē'r, Strong heart.
 heto' kwānyī'l, Black belly.
 etsī't uta'v, Hit in the rump.

3. Names with a sexual reference:

- maḍa'r ya'kápet, Crazy penis.
 maḍa'r tepum, Big penis.
 senya'k i'mat,¹⁵⁹ Woman's parts.
 mecaxa'i heepa'n, Girl's vagina.
 heepa'n minu'v, Fighting for vagina.
 heepa'n came', Seeking the vagina.

BOYS' INITIATION RITE¹⁶⁰

The Yuma until recently practised an ordeal initiation for all males, which was known as ixū'ūca'ts (nose piercing). It can hardly be called a puberty rite since seven or eight years was considered the suitable age at which to undergo the ceremony. It was held in late summer whenever a sufficiently large group of boys (normally varying from six to ten years of age) was ready. Ten was considered a suitable age.

The boys were gathered together in charge of a guardian, under a shade at some distance from the houses. In the early afternoon of the first day the septum of the nose was pierced by some experienced elder and a length of willow-bark string was passed through the incision. The boys were then taken on a long cross-country run in a northerly direction. Athletic adults accompanied them, joining in the race at various points to spur on their effort. Ten or fifteen miles were covered in this way. On their return the boys were bathed in the river and taken back to their shade. They were strictly forbidden to lie down with their heads in contact with the ground or any other object and were not allowed to touch their faces or hair. Squatting or adopting some other posture in which the head was kept clear of the ground, they passed the night in charge of the guardian.

¹⁵⁹ i'mat is used both as a specific term for vulva and more generally for the sexual attractiveness of woman. Its meaning is distinct from heepan—the vagina, a term also used for intercourse itself.

¹⁶⁰ Joe Homer.

No special songs were sung; men would gather around and sing the songs they knew. Food was restricted to a single bowl of watery corn mush and by constant interruption and interrogation the boys were prevented from sleeping.

At dawn on the second day they were again taken out as before, running this time in a westerly direction. After bathing on their return they were compelled to manipulate the strings in their noses to keep their wounds open.

Procedure on the third day was as before, running this time to the south. On the fourth day, after running to the east, the nose strings were replaced by short lengths of greasewood which were left in the wounds until healed, and the period of seclusion ended that night. A length of shell or a short string of blue shell beads strung on a willow-bark cord was later worn in the nose when the wound had healed.

The rite has some points of resemblance to the western toloache rite, i.e., the foot racing, fasting, etc., but it is far less elaborate, no drug is used, and the ground painting is unknown on the Lower Colorado. Jimsonweed, although known to the Yuma, was used only occasionally and never in the nose-piercing ceremony.

The Yuma regarded the boys' initiation rite as comparable to the girls' puberty rite. Its object was to guarantee strength and endurance. Despite a number of common features such as fasting and scratch avoidance, it is, however, probable that they are historically distinct, since there is in the girls' ceremony no suggestion of an ordeal. The latter attempts to assure fertility and physical well-being by semi-magical observances; it is definitely focused on maternal function and occurs, theoretically, at a particular physiological crisis. The boys' rite, however, has no reference to puberty or mating and is associated in the native mind with the acquisition of a warrior's qualities.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES¹⁶¹

The Yuma practise a girls' puberty rite (tūno'k) similar in function and procedure to that of the Diegueño.¹⁶² It is, however, less elaborate and more privately undertaken. Among the Northern Diegueño several clan mates, all at about the period of puberty, participate in a common "roasting." The Yuma, however, although like their western neighbors in regarding the ceremony as necessary for the present and future physiological well-being of the girl, treat it, nevertheless, as a family affair of little public interest and the rite is conducted separately for each or for two related girls. Close to the house a shallow pit about six feet long is dug. It is floored with stones previously heated in a fire. On the stones a layer of sand is spread and sprinkled with water to temper and conserve the heat. A thick bedding of fresh cut arrowweed (about one foot deep) is placed above and the girl lies on this, face down and naked, but covered with a blanket. The arrowweed couch is sometimes built over a recently extinguished fire without any attempt at digging a pit.

The rite takes place as soon as possible after the appearance of the first menstruation. The girl is first secluded for four days in the care of an elderly female relative.

A group of relatives and friends gather in the morning before the "roasting." In a hollow scooped in the ground, a mud paste is made with the dark adhesive fluid obtained by boiling a quantity of mesquite bark or from pulverized root of the arrowweed. The heads of all the visitors and of the girl herself are plastered with this mud. The female visitors form a circle around the girl, singing and advising her on good conduct. In the late afternoon the pit is prepared and the girl placed in position where she is expected to remain without movement until nightfall. The father of the girl makes and receives flattering speeches during this time.

Now you all know this girl has menstruated. She is become a woman. She will be a fine woman. Soon we will invite all you people again (a reference to her future marriage).

Your girl has menstruated. We are glad she is such a fine girl. After this [the rite] she will grow straight and strong and one day rear many children. Yes, we will all be glad to come again soon.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Joe Homer.

¹⁶² Waterman, 2; DuBois.

¹⁶³ Free English renderings by the informant.

The guests disband that evening but the treatment of the girl continues for four days; each morning her head is washed, deloused and replastered with mud and in the afternoon she returns to the heated arrowweed bed. During this period, as well as the previous four days, the girl is kept on a very scanty diet, without salt or meat. She may not scratch herself or she will become lousy and her hair will fall out; a scratching stick of willow is, therefore, supplied. She may not talk or she will become garrulous. She may not laugh or she will become lightheaded, and may not bathe or she will lose her strength.

This account differs somewhat from the rite observed by Eixarch in 1775:

Today I went with two interpreters to see a very rare thing. It happened that they had told me that it was the custom of these Indians when a woman comes to her first menstruation to bury her in the sand, having warmed it previously with fire. Then many women sing and dance about her for a space of two or three hours, performing this ceremony four consecutive days at a designated hour. During these four days the woman does not eat, they say, and only drinks water at sunset. These four days having passed, they daub her hair with a kind of gum like *zoquete* for four more days, and during this time they give her food to eat without salt. After these four days they daub her hair with *zoquete* four more days, and then she eats and drinks as she wishes.

I did not wish to believe that they buried her or that after the dance was over they took her in their hands, tossed her up in the air three times and the last time let her fall. But since Palma had told me these things, and I had heard the singing for the two previous days consecutively, I asked the two interpreters to accompany me. They did so, and we hid ourselves in the woods, whence I observed the manner of dancing, and the singing by a large circle of Indian women. When I saw them deeply absorbed in their ceremony I emerged from the wood with my interpreters, and we went near to a little fire which they had there. The mother of the girl, or woman, of the ceremony, was crouched low down near a bulk covered with a blanket made of the bark of trees which they weave. I removed the blanket and saw the girl, and I recognized her because she lives near by and comes here every day. She was buried full length in the sand as if dead, with only her head uncovered. At her head were planted two little stakes to hold up the blanket, in order that it might not prevent her from breathing. I touched the sand with which she was covered and it was hot, although not extremely so. This ceremony and the others, they say, they perform with all the girls at their first period. I here relate what I saw; as to the rest I can give no assurance.¹⁶⁴

It will be noticed that in this account there is no mention of an arrowweed bed, the girl being buried directly in the warm sand, a procedure still followed by the Mohave.¹⁶⁵ While it is possible that warm sand was heaped over both the girl and the arrowweed in order to retain the heat, it is also possible that the Kamyas have since introduced the use of a herbage bed in the Diegueño style; for while the

¹⁶⁴ Bolton, 4, 3:335-337.

¹⁶⁵ Kroeber, 2, 748.

rite is obsolescent today among the Yuma, the Kamya still practice it. Miguel had seen it recently performed by the Diegueño (i.e., Kamya) "but not by the Yuma and knew of it among his people only as an old-time custom." Joe Homer, however, who had at one time a Kamya wife, was conversant with Diegueño customs, and until closely questioned described the use of the Diegueño thigh stone (*atulk*) as a Yuma custom, volunteered the information that the arrowweed was important because it made the girl grow straight and supple of limb. Arrowweed was, of course, not available in the Diegueño country where local grasses were employed.

The tossing was not practiced in recent times but an analogous rite is sometimes observed. A man, renowned for his good carriage and fine physique, places one foot between the shoulder blades of the girl as she lies face downward in the pit and slowly transfers his weight to that foot, thereby causing her "to grow straight."

Trippel was told of the puberty ceremony but did not witness it. It was said to have been performed inside a dome-shaped hut, a couch of boughs was mentioned, and he adds the interesting information that people "gather about the hut where they employ the time in passing coarse jests, playing on reed pipes and jesting much to the annoyance of the parents who bid them begone."¹⁶⁶

Seclusion of a woman during her menstrual period should continue throughout life. She should fast and avoid touching any person or their goods. This applies specifically to her own family.

The girls' puberty rite, whether in a sand pit, as seems to have been formerly practised, or in an arrowweed-lined trench filled with hot stones, is clearly related to the Gabrielino-Luiseño rites, which may in turn have been derived from the extinct coastal Salinans and Chumash. Assuming that the sand-roasting procedure was aboriginal to the Yuma, the relation is still close—older women sing round the patient, she must bathe, fast, and use a head-scratcher; the underlying idea being that the girl's behavior at this time would control her character and disposition ever after. Associated with this is a crude belief in the therapeutic value of heat to ensure her health. The concept of malignancy at puberty and menstruation, which is deeply rooted in northern California is weak here, as also among the Southern Shoshoneans. While menstruating women must be avoided by their menfolk, and should not approach cures or war parties, there is, however, no trace of an attempt to counteract any evil influence from the girl that is undergoing the rite.

¹⁶⁶ Trippel, 580.

TATTOOING

As among the Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Diegueño female tattooing is associated with the puberty rite. But the two are not coincident. Tattooing is effected without ceremony after the puberty rite¹⁶⁷ and completed, usually, before the girl reaches the age of sixteen years. The tattooed designs are in general confined to the chin. One, or occasionally, two lines are drawn vertically down from each corner of the mouth, between which vertical rows of dots are made. Four or five rows of three or four in a row are usually found, but the precise number is said not to matter.

One or two horizontal bars, rows of dots, or a representation of a bow are sometimes tattooed on the forehead immediately above the nose bridge. This ornament is also occasionally found on men who, however, never tattoo the chin. Pricking and scratching with cactus thorns and rubbing in mesquite charcoal are the means employed in tattooing. A girl might be tattooed by a relative and it is usually performed by a woman.

MARRIAGE

Accounts of marriage customs were conflicting. Joe Homer claimed that a somewhat elaborate betrothal and exchange of presents between the families was formerly practised, while Miguel asserted that the parents took no active part in the matter and were informed after the event, that the two young people were going to live together. It is probable that Joe described a relatively rare but orthodox procedure formerly followed by the more prominent families. The accounts of both informants are given.

Joe stated that marriage was often arranged when a girl reached puberty. The occasion of the puberty ceremony was often used to announce a betrothal. The boy's parents would attend at this time, speak in praise of the girl, and make presents to her parents. The usual presents were stores of corn, beans, etc., and occasionally horses. These presents would be repeated at intervals for the next two or three years until a feast was finally arranged by the boy's parents. The feast would last three or four days, with much singing and dancing.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Kroeber, 2, table 9.

Considerable prestige attached to the scale on which it was conducted. After the feast the two were considered permanent mates. There was no rule as to domicile but more usually the girl would come to live with or near her husband's parents.

Miguel had never heard of any marriages arranged between children and suggested that they would probably refuse to marry if such arrangements were made. When a young man wanted to marry he hung about the house of the girl, endeavoring to win her favor. The parents might sometimes drive him off if they disapproved strongly but as a rule they let the affair alone. If the young woman wanted him she eventually let him come to her bed at night and they slept together. The young man would sleep with her for four nights. During this time it was considered improper for intercourse to take place. He then took the girl to his home, or should she be shy, he asked his mother to fetch her. On her arrival the boy's parents welcomed her and the mother set a metate before her with corn and other food. It was then the duty of the girl to prepare a meal for the kinsfolk of her future husband. Neighbors were frequently invited and there was singing and dancing. Sometimes if the husband was the son of a very prominent man the festivities would last several days. After that the young people lived where they pleased.

Girls usually married two or three years after puberty. The husband was, as a rule, a few years older than his wife.

Marriages were dissolved at will, the woman returning to her family. If a woman left her husband he kept the children and put them under his mother's care.

Marriage was usually monogamous but there was no strict rule. A man who could persuade two or more wives to live with him, or who had an ailing wife whom he did not wish to abandon, might practice polygamy without criticism. The two wives would, in such instances, live in the same family group. There was no custom of marrying the sister of the first wife either before or after the latter's decease.

The concept of purchase, which is so widely a characteristic trait of marriage in California, is apparently lacking for the gifts of the bridegroom's parents, mentioned by Joe Homer, were not considered as payments and no return could be claimed.

TRANSVESTITES

Both male and female inverts are recognized; the females are known as kwe'rhamé, the males as elxa'. Elxa' are more numerous. Such persons are considered to have suffered a change of spirit as a result of dreams which occur generally at the time of puberty. Such dreams frequently include the receiving of messages from plants, particularly the arrowweed, which is believed to be liable to change of sex itself. An elxa' known to one informant, however, dreamed of a journey to a place at the southern foot of avikwala'l (Pilot Knob) where he saw a mound called tewé've (metate?). This dream implied his future occupation with women's work.

When he came out of the dream he put his hand to his mouth and laughed four times. He laughed with a woman's voice and his mind was changed from male into female. Other young people noticed this and began to feel towards him as to a woman.

As a rule parents are ashamed of such children, but there is no attempt to force them or suppress the tendency. In some cases the "transformation" is publicly recognized, friends are invited, and in the case of an elxa' food is prepared by him. It is, in any case, customary for an elxa' to undertake women's work, fetching water and grinding corn.

An elxa' later goes to live with a man; such a pair often remains together permanently. It is considered unwise to interfere with them for the elxa' has more power than the ordinary man and is thought to have a peaceful influence on the tribe.

Female inverts (kwe'rhamé) are rarer, but they too realize their character through a dream at puberty. The characteristic dream is of men's weapons. As a small child the kwe'rhamé plays with boys' toys. Such women never menstruate; their secondary sexual characteristics are undeveloped or in some instances are male. Parents object more strongly to kwe'rhamé than to elxa' and attempt to bully them into feminine ways.

Casual secret homosexuality among both women and men is well known. The latter is probably more common. This is not considered objectionable but such persons would resent being called elxa' or kwe'rhamé.

BIRTH CUSTOMS

Actual conception is known to the man before it is to the woman. His psychological condition is considered all-important in determining the result of intercourse. To him, it is believed, comes the power to create the child. Conception can only occur when the man has received this power of which he should normally dream beforehand. Without this sense of spiritual exaltation intercourse cannot be fruitful, and he is immediately aware if he has achieved impregnation. The woman, for her part, can also resist conception by merely refusing to desire a child. If she puts a strong psychical barrier between them, it is very difficult for the man to make her pregnant.

It would be expected, as Hipa Norton indicated, that these views were associated with a belief in the male as producer of the child. "The man gives the woman the child and she nurses it inside." Joe Homer, however, believed that both supplied seed, and that sex depended on which grew in the woman. Pat was aware of the white man's knowledge of sexual reproduction.

A good doctor can often help if a woman has no children. A woman he knew, said Joe, who had been unable to produce children went with her husband to a doctor. "The doctor lay them both on the ground in an open space and lifted one after the other by the armpits. He decided that the man had seed in him but the woman had no seed." The doctor then plunged his right arm into the ground just as if it were a sharp stick and brought out some very coarse sand. He rubbed this all over the woman, blew smoke on her belly, and soon after she had a child.

A variety of practices are believed to be effective in avoiding conception. Abstinence from intercourse for four days after menstruation is very generally recommended on the theory that this is the most fertile period. A small quantity of freely pounded ashes of mesquite wood taken in water is believed to prevent conception. Ants are very definitely associated with sterility, and while the barrenness of certain women is explained on the theory that they have micturated on an ant pile, other women do so regularly for a complete menstrual cycle, believing that thereafter they will be barren.

A pregnant woman is believed to dream the sex and fate of her child. If, for example, she dreams of eagle feathers, bows and arrows,

the sex will be male; to dream of birds assures her of a safe delivery and a healthy child. Joe Homer said that a pregnant woman received a whole series of dreams foretelling the character and fate of the child.

When the actual time of birth is approaching both the mother and father must cease all work and fast.

The mother frequently goes back to her own family, i.e., her father's house for the delivery. Unless the weather is cold she is placed under a shade at some little distance from the house. The patient is generally attended by two women with some reputation as midwives. Close female relatives, and more particularly her mother, are not considered as eligible for this duty, although there is no attempt at exclusion of any but the father of the expected child. His presence is believed to delay the birth and weaken the child.¹⁶⁸

The woman is placed in a half-sitting, half-reclining position with her legs splayed over a shallow pit about a foot wide.

If there is any unexpected difficulty a doctor is called. After blowing smoke over the head and in the ears of the woman he instructs a male assistant to lift her by the armpits. As she is lifted into a semi-erect position he slaps her sharply on the belly. After this lifting, slapping, and lowering has been repeated four times the doctor again smokes over the woman and the whole process is repeated indefinitely. The midwives will also independently massage the patient and attempt manipulation. Trippel¹⁶⁹ affirms that if the mother died in childbirth, the child was usually burned with her.

Immediately after the delivery the child is lifted on strips of willow bark and the father called. He cuts the cord with a stone knife. The afterbirth is left in the shallow pit and immediately covered with earth and stones. The cord should be cut about four inches from the child's body and coiled into a knot. A paste of wood ashes is mixed with shredded willow bark to make a small cake large enough to cover the coiled cord. This is left on the umbilicus until it drops off together with the dried cord. For four days the woman may not touch her face or any part of her body with her hands. She is given a scratcher for the head. A stick to which bark shreds have been attached is used to wipe the face and even the nipple has to be lifted to the mouth of the child with the aid of two sticks. During this period both she and the father may eat nothing but very watery corn

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Trippel, 579: "If he is present it is believed that the child cannot be born and the *father* will become grievously ill."

¹⁶⁹ P. 579.

mush and neither may touch the child with the hands. A woman should be at hand all the time to attend its needs.

The father is expected to make the cradle during this period.¹⁷⁰ A slender length of mesquite wood is bent to a long U shape on which flat transverse slats are lashed. Hoops of mesquite wood are curved over the upper end to form the frame for the awning. This form of cradle is also found among the Mohave and Pima.¹⁷¹ According to Trippel,¹⁷² the shade was "covered with flannel or buckskin, elaborately garnished with beads, bells, small coins, bits of glass, etc. The child is tied in with a piece of buckskin . . . tightly held in place with thongs." The cradle is carried "under the arm," i.e., on the hip as with the Cocopa.

Formerly the ears of the child were pierced within a few days of birth. This task, known as *acma'lk*, was performed by any one accustomed to it. Three holes were made, one in the lobe and two in the cartilage, in each ear. Strings were inserted and manipulated to prevent the wounds healing. A few white disc beads of clam shell were later threaded on strings which were each separately looped through the holes. These ornaments were worn throughout life. The ear piercing was of urgent importance, for should anyone die without it he would fail to reach the land of the dead. It was apparently regarded as more truly a tribal mark than the nose piercing which occurred at the boys' initiation rite.

Children were suckled for long periods, sometimes for as much as two years. When not in the cradle they were carried about on the hip or on the bustle of the bark skirt.¹⁷³

WARFARE

The Yuma, like all other people of the Lower Colorado, considered military success a most essential condition for their well-being. Courage and daring were arrogantly boasted in the face of enemies who were decried as craven wretches if they refused battle. Intrigues and alliances for the destruction of enemies and the elaboration of treacherous plans for surprising a hostile settlement are the dominant

¹⁷⁰ Anza, however, records seeing the mother make the cradle on the day after the birth.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Spier, 3, 317, fig. 56. Cradles of somewhat the same type, but constructed out of packing-case boards, are still used by the Yuma.

¹⁷² Trippel, 580.

¹⁷³ Cf. Trippel, 565.

themes of their historical tales. Fighting was not justified merely as a virile pursuit, nor was economic need adduced as a factor; warfare to the Yuma possessed a strong mystical value as the means whereby the spiritual power of the entire tribe was enhanced and at the same time demonstrated.

With a food supply that was relatively secure and with no elaborate ceremonial cycle to maintain, the Lower Colorado peoples were

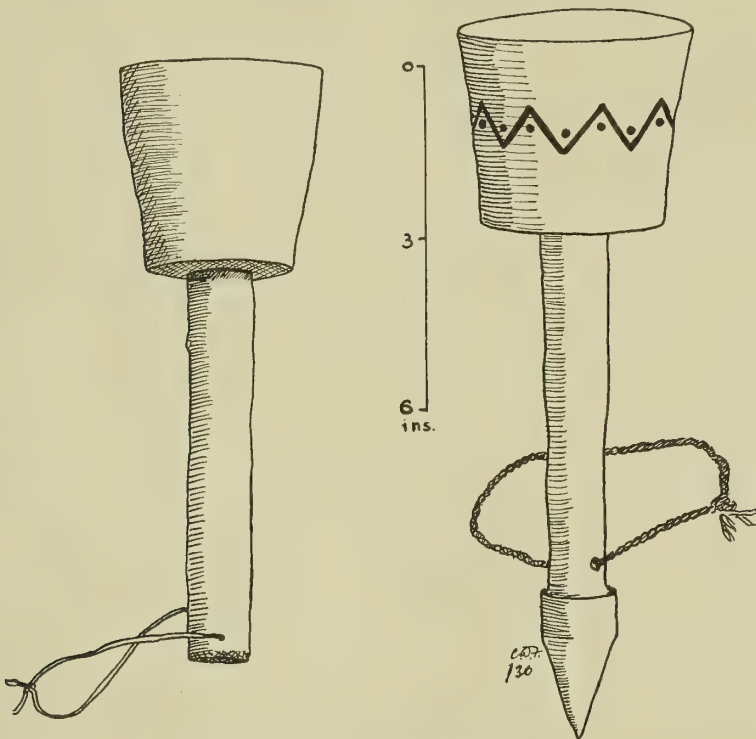


Fig. 8. Lower Colorado war clubs.

free to devote a great part of their energies to belligerent activities. Alarcon remarked the incessant warfare among the tribes of the Lower Colorado. He speaks of "warre and that very great, and upon exceedingly small occasions; for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together and some of them said, let us go to make warre in such a place and then all of them set forward with their weapons."

But, as throughout their culture, they showed no power to develop or maintain any elaborate organization. No analogy to the system of "counting coups," as appeared in the Plains, no grading or societies of warriors, indeed little formal organization corresponding to their

military activities appears among these people. Apart from the *kwanámi* or tribal war leader, their organization for war was, like everything else, extempore.

Yet again, although their campaigns were only short-lived sallies, which might be abandoned or resumed according to the opportunity of the moment, and were led and participated in by those who were anxious and willing at the particular time, they nevertheless adhered to a definite pattern in the pitched battles which were waged between traditional enemies. While they were grandiloquent in tribal eulogy, persistent and unremitting in their attacks, the warfare of the region by no means decimated the population, for the individual campaigns involved few men (two or three hundred on each side would constitute a memorable battle), and such conflicts could be and were frequently broken off. When the defeated felt that they were losing too many men they simply disappeared under cover of darkness or failed to keep the appointment fixed for the next encounter. And finally, their military equipment of poor bows, light arrows, wooden staves and hand clubs was not of the most lethal character. Diaz comments that "as a rule they are hostile to each other and do each other a great deal of damage which would be greater still if they were skilled in the use of weapons of which many or even most of them are lacking."¹⁷⁴

The pitched battles which were fought between enemies of long standing were often arranged by appointment.¹⁷⁵ Such a challenge would in general be issued only by a force which considered itself superior. In their long and bitter feud with the Maricopa, however, the Yuma would march openly to an enemy village and demand combat in hostile territory. Russell records such an attack as told him by the "reader" of a Piman annals stick:

In the autumn [of 1842] the Yumas again came to attack the Maricopa village, but did not attempt to surprise it. They formed in line of battle opposite the line of Maricopas, who were equally courageous. The war chiefs stood between the lines. Each man was armed with a club only. The Yuma chief said to his opponent: "I am ready to have you strike me first if you can." The Maricopa chief answered: "It is for me to let you try your club on me, because you want to kill me, and you have traveled far to satisfy your heart." In the personal combat which ensued the Yuma was killed, the sharp end of his opponent's club piercing his side. Then the fight became general, each attacking the man opposite him in the line. There were some Mohave Apaches with the Yumas who fought with bows and arrows. When they saw the line of Yumas wavering, they deserted them. The Yumas retreated some distance and again made a stand, and the fight ended in an indecisive manner, with perhaps a greater loss to the Maricopas than

¹⁷⁴ Diaz's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:267.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Kroeber, 3.

to the Yumas. After the fight the Mohaves wanted to scalp the dead enemy, but the Yuma chief said, no, they might scalp some Yumas by mistake, and they must wait until these had been gathered from the field.¹⁷⁶

There was an element of restraint and deliberation in these pitched battles, a sense of accommodation if not of chivalry. In the previous year, for instance (1841):

The Maricopas of the village of Masakimûlt, accompanied by one Pima, went on a campaign against the Yumas. The enemy gathered to meet them and sent a messenger to tell them that they should leave aside their knives and bows and fight only with sticks. The Maricopas agreed to this, but the Pima said he had made his bow and arrows to use on the enemy and he would keep them in his own hands. The Yuma messenger showed the Maricopas where to cross the Colorado river and conducted them to the assembled Yumas on the farther side. It was agreed that four from each side should engage in the combat, using sharp sticks about 6 feet long (lances) instead of the customary war club.

Four times each squad ran in a semicircle near the enemy's line; four times they approached each other before the fight began. At the first onslaught three Maricopas and two Yumas were killed; the Yumas killed the surviving Maricopa and retired to their line.

Then Pantatûk, "bravest of the Maricopas," ran his horse through the entire party of Yumas, striking many with his lance before being caught in the line of women behind the warriors. Kâûtei Pai, Hawk-tail, also rode through the Yuma lines and is living today (1902).

Teûwut Hakûtäny, Earth-crack, challenged a Yuma to single combat and was wounded, but recovered.

Then the fight became general, most of the Maricopas being killed. Many Yumas were also killed. The Pima killed so many with his arrows that they could not reach him with their lances, and he escaped, as did some Maricopas, and they reached home in safety. Aâpap Anton, Maricopa Antoine (pl. XLIII, b) also kept his bow and arrows and when closely pressed by the Yumas exclaimed in the Pima language: "You can not catch me!" which somewhat confused his enemies and enabled him to escape.¹⁷⁷

The last native conflict on the Colorado occurred in 1857, when the Yuma and Mohave attacked their traditional enemy, the Maricopa. Several accounts are known and already all conflict. Joe Homer¹⁷⁸ was told by an old man, now dead, that the Yuma party consisted of about a hundred men from the Algodones settlement who went against the orders of Pasqual, the chief at Fort Yuma. They traveled for seven days to Parker to meet the Mohave. The Mohave contingent, which Joe apparently regarded as a handful, was by their own account¹⁷⁹ twice as large as the Yuma, while some Yavapai and a few Apache(?) were also of the force. The entire party went east for nine days until they surprised and scattered a Maricopa village. These fugitives gave the alarm. The Yuma were defeated because the Pima

¹⁷⁶ Russell, 41.

¹⁷⁷ Russell, 40-41.

¹⁷⁸ Gifford, 6, 65.

¹⁷⁹ Kroeber, 2, 573.

had guns and horses and cut off the retreat. Most of the Mohave ran off in an early stage of the fight. The opening of the battle according to Joe's account is especially interesting and typical of the Colorado fighting:

The Maricopa began the attack. . . . The Maricopa leader stood in the middle of the line and asked, "Which are the Yuma?" Apparently he could not distinguish Yuma from Mohave. The Algodones man [who had dreamed his success and organized the party] said, "I am here, to the right of the Mohave. I am a Yuma." The Maricopa approached close to the Yuma hoop and pulled out one man, whom they stabbed to death with a steel-bladed spear. Then followed club and spear fighting between the Maricopa and the Yuma, who fell dead in pairs. The Maricopa tried to drive out the Yuma but they stood their ground determined to die rather than yield. "Do not bother with the Mohave," the Maricopa said. "Let's settle with the Yuma." Most of the Mohave ran away and only a few who stayed with the Yuma died.¹⁸⁰

According to Ives,¹⁸¹ who was at Fort Yuma at the time, the Cocopa had warned the Maricopa of the impending attack. The first village affected surprise and lured attackers into a canyon

where they suddenly found themselves surrounded by an overpowering force. They attempted to fly but finding that impossible, fought bravely to the last. . . . The contest lasted less than an hour. Out of the whole number only three or four escaped.¹⁸² . . . The very name Pima or Maricopa now inspires the Yumas and Mohaves with chagrin and dread,

for, as he comments earlier, they had been previously "disposed to treat them with contempt as an inferior race."

Many of the warlike incidents were ambushes, surprise attacks followed by massacre, or skirmish according to the strength of the defending party.¹⁸³ Heintzelman neatly summarizes the character of these skirmishes, saying that

wars are commenced by a party lying in wait to attack some defenceless rancharia, when they rush upon the occupants, kill all the men, old women and small children, making prisoners of the able-bodied women and larger children.¹⁸⁴

Smoke signals were used to call the people together, especially after fighting during which they had scattered over the country.¹⁸⁵

A clear distinction is made between a war party (axwē' haya'ig—going to the enemy) which sought battle (metāpui) with the enemy

¹⁸⁰ Kroeber's account, however, states that seventy were killed.

¹⁸¹ Ives, 42 ff.

¹⁸² Two, according to Kroeber's Mohave account, seven, according to Joe Homer's. Kroeber's informant said the battle occurred on an open plain. He and Joe Homer agree that the place was called Avivava.

¹⁸³ Stockades for the defense of settlements are reported for the Cajuenches and Halliquami (Cortez, in Whipple, 123), but were unknown among the Yuma.

¹⁸⁴ Heintzelman, 46.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Fages, in Priestley, 49.

(axwē'), and a small raiding party (axwē' oma'n—waking the enemy) intended to rekindle the hostility (axwa'iv—state of enmity) at little expense.

The war party was distinguished from a group of raiders by the possession of feathered staves, similar to those now used in the keruk (fig. 14).

Tribal pride played a great part in the continuance of hostilities: every attack had to be repaid by a counter-attack. This code was externalized and strengthened by the custom of scalping (nye''uḡao—hair taken).¹⁸⁶ Every scalp lost had to be avenged. There is now perhaps no means of knowing how deep-seated was the scalping ritual among the Yuma but the acquisition of scalps is almost invariably adduced by the teller of war stories as one of the primary objectives of war parties and the procedure is still well known among the older men.

Scalps should only be taken from great warriors and more particularly from the enemy "war chief," but in practice a good head of hair tempted the victor, and I was informed on several occasions that if the hair were abundant and lustrous, it did not matter greatly if the victim were not eminent.

Scalping could only be effected by the victorious party for they remained in possession of the field. The defeated dragged off as many of their dead as possible to minimize the power that the enemy might obtain, and it rarely happened that more than two were taken. Scalping could only be performed on the instructions of the war leader and only by a recognized scalper (nye''kwitsadḡa'). The power to perform this duty had to be dreamed and only one or two men possessed it at the same time. An ordinary man would be afraid to scalp an enemy. The scalper was not expected to show great bravery or fighting ability and remained in the rear of the battle until called upon. The neck of the victim was first broken across the knee. The scalp was then removed with a flint knife, cutting down from the bridge of the nose obliquely across the cheek, and below the ears, and round the back of the neck.¹⁸⁷ The scalp was torn off from the rear. The scalper then placed it on the ground and pushing his toe under it kicked

¹⁸⁶ Alarcon's account contains no reference to scalping on the Lower Colorado; instead he mentions another practice which I have not found elsewhere in the literature and is unknown to my informants, viz., "They took out the hearts of some [of their enemies] and ate them and others they burned."

¹⁸⁷ The Spaniards were scalping in the Gila-Colorado region in the eighteenth century and were also removing the ears together with the scalp. See Fages, in Priestley, 9.

it out four times. Picking it up he waited for a group of warriors to surround him and threw it into the air four times. The warriors cried out at each throw, beginning with a low growl which rose in volume and pitch with each throw.¹⁸⁸ A special scalp song and dance (*yaxai*) followed immediately. The presence of women was claimed to be essential for the correct procedure. The women formed a close ring around the scalper and holding hands danced around him clockwise with a sideway shuffle while he sang four songs received in his dream. As he sang he shook the scalp like a rattle and turned continually around.¹⁸⁹

When the war party returned to its village the scalper with his trophy remained at a distance behind the main party, for it was dangerous so long as the flesh was moist and he could not be approached without undergoing subsequent purification. This the scalper achieved by bathing at dawn and fasting for four successive days.

On their arrival the scalp was given to the *kwoxot* and mounted on a long pole (about eight feet high and three inches in diameter). This was carried about by a woman, usually the wife of the man who killed the victim, during the four days of purification and rejoicing which followed the battle. These scalps were carefully preserved, but since they had great power for evil, were hidden away. The *kwoxot* was responsible for their care. They were placed in sealed ollas and kept in a shallow covered pit in an old house. It was the *kwoxot*'s duty to maintain them in good condition. At intervals they were taken out and the hair was carefully brushed. When a foray was contemplated he decided the suitability of the occasion after inspecting the scalps taken from people belonging to the group against which the present attack was planned. The scalp hairs were alive and reflected the condition of the enemy. "When the hairs are happy, and bright, and shiny, it is a bad time for war for the Yumas. But sometimes they cry and the *kwoxot* can hear them and he knows the time is good for war."

The appropriate scalps sometimes were taken on war expeditions and ensured success against the enemy from whom they had been previously taken. "Cocopa hair is good to kill Cocopa only." They were mounted on short red and black painted sticks and carried by the leader himself.

¹⁸⁸ This procedure is now followed in the *keruk* ritual. See p. 237.

¹⁸⁹ It will be observed that there were women in the opposing parties that engage in ritual combat in the *keruk*.

The Yuma now make weapons and war regalia only for ceremonial purposes. Since these are destroyed at the conclusion of the ceremony it is difficult to obtain specimens for examination.

Joe Homer gave the following account of the former equipment of a war party:

Two chief warriors carried feathered staves. One stick was decorated with white and one with black feathers. They were just like those still used in the *keruk*. One of the staff bearers also carried a shield like the one in the ceremony (fig. 16, see p. 240). He had to be the bravest fighter of all and went ahead of all the others and showed the way. In the fight he was always in the middle calling on the others to fight well. He could never draw back and didn't have much chance to protect himself because he carried no weapons. He would die rather than give up his feathered staff or shield. The shield would help against arrows but it was not much good against clubs and spears. Nobody else had a shield. The other feathered staff carrier went with him. He also carried a mesquite wood club and protected them both until the others came up.

When the Yuma were going into a fight a small bunch with spears and clubs kept close behind the leader. The largest group of all came next, they had bows and arrows and shot at the enemy over their leaders' heads. Everybody had a stone knife for fighting up close. They carried these in their teeth. When there were horsemen these carried long spears.

The same war party always fought together and each man had the same weapons all the time and knew where he was to fight. The spearers and clubbers did not carry bows and arrows.

Other informants did not remember the fringed shield being carried in battle. Miguel was told as a boy that the two bearers of the feathered staves were brave warriors who stuck their staves in the ground when they reached the battlefield and stood by them fighting until they were victorious or killed. They dared not run away. The war leader (*kwánami*) did not carry a feathered staff. He was the strongest and wisest fighter and had to be free to command the party.

In the *keruk* ceremonial, as will be seen, there are two prominent fighters in the attacking party, painted black and white respectively, the one carrying the black staff, the other the white. Questioned at the time, Miguel said that the black painted warrior was the war leader of the party and the white painted one was his second. The feathered staff bearers formerly went into battle painted in this way according to the color of their staff.¹⁹⁰ *Yalák* who went with them and urged them on to fight was a war dreamer and war speaker but not a war leader. He would be asked to decide the suitability of the place and occasion for battle but would not lead the fighting.

¹⁹⁰ These staves are discussed later in connection with their ceremonial use, see p. 265.

No ritual acts other than an examination of the enemy scalps were necessary before setting out on a military expedition. On the return, however, all warriors had to observe a strict seclusion, fasting for four days. They remained outside the village, especially avoiding their own wives and children, eating almost nothing, and bathing every morning before sunrise. If blood-stained, the warriors should also take a mud bath. When a man had killed an enemy this seclusion continued for eight days, during which time his family also restricted themselves to a "fast" diet. Women and wound-curing doctors frequently accompanied military expeditions and the women would enter the battle at need.

CAPTIVES

Women and children were frequently captured, especially in surprise raids (captive—*axwao'ts*, pl. *axwē'cutū'ts*). They belonged to their individual captors and were often bartered or gambled away. The children were sometimes adopted into families after being purified in the same manner as the returning warriors. They are said also to have been frequently sold to the Mexicans.

The treatment of the women varied considerably. They were compelled to dance in the festivities that followed the warriors' return and were then subject to scorn and ill-treatment; but after that they were usually well treated. They were sometimes taken as wives by old men whose own wives were dead or feeble. Although this practice was regarded as a fitting insult to the enemy, it seems that the women were not despised and frequently settled down permanently without attempting to escape.

Sometimes, however, they were killed. "Someone who has lost a relative will buy a captive and kill her in revenge." A Mohave record suggests that the killing of captives was accompanied by procedure recalling the Natchez tortures in the southeast. Olive Oatman, an American girl captured and sold to the Mohave by the Apache and who remained their captive for several years, claimed that the Mohave customarily tortured and killed prisoners and captives up to the number of their own slain. She described the torture of a Cocopa woman who had attempted to escape.

A noisy meeting was held, and the night spent in one of their victory dances during which they would dance around her, shout in her ears, and spit in her face. The next morning a post was firmly planted in the ground and about eight feet from the bottom a cross beam attached. They then drove rough wooden spikes through the palms of their captive's hands and by these raised her to the cross

beam and drove the spikes into the soft wood, extending her arms as far as they would reach. Then with pieces of bark stuck with thorns they tied her head firmly back to the upright post, drove spikes through her ankles and for a time left her.

They soon returned and placing me, with their other captives, near the sufferer, bid us keep our eyes upon her until she died. They then commenced running round the stake in circles, halloing and stamping like demons. After a while several supplied themselves with bows and arrows and at every circle they would shoot an arrow into her quivering flesh. Occasionally she would utter piteous cries which would awaken from the mocking crowd taunting yells.

For two hours she hung in this dreadful condition bleeding and sighing, her body mangled in a shocking manner. Whenever she would scream aloud they would stuff rags in her mouth to silence her. After she was dead they took her body to a funeral pile and burned it.¹⁹¹

The technique of crucifixion, if correctly reported, suggests Spanish influence although it would seem improbable that the story of the crucifixion would have been well enough known to the Mohave, whose territory the Spaniards had rarely entered. Among the Natchez and Pawnee a frame, which probably presented less constructional difficulty, was employed for the extension of the victim. Although the victim was shot by arrows, no sacrificial element similar to that in the Pawnee sacrifice to Morning Star¹⁹² is apparent. My Yuma informants denied that slain captives were regarded as sacrifices or that they should be killed for any motives other than revenge. They were usually killed by the blow of a club.¹⁹³ It is fairly clear that the majority of captives escaped death and lived for long periods in the settlements to which they were taken. The significance of this practice is not clear. Captives were frequently a main objective in raiding and no doubt afforded concrete evidence of success. Indeed it is probable that their presence in Yuma villages was mainly esteemed as an indication of military prowess, for their organization and economy were too simple and democratic for true slavery to find any place and a captive child or woman performed the same tasks as a Yuma. There is no evidence that they were usually overworked, ill-treated, or exploited. The majority were obtained in warfare from

¹⁹¹ Ives, 73. Cf. Stratton, 225, and fig. on 229.

¹⁹² Linton.

¹⁹³ Elsewhere in the Oatman narrative reference is made to a story told by the son of a "chief," who killed two captives at the death of his father. One was killed when the father fell ill in the hope that he would recover. The other was threatened with death if the father did not get well. When he died the second captive was burned alive. Cf. Stratton, 214. Unfortunately the whole account of the Oatman captivity is lurid and sensational and an extremely unsatisfactory document on which to base any conclusions. The "crucifixion" of this account may be nothing more than the hanging of the dead enemy from a tree or post, as among the Pima and Maricopa.

neighboring tribes, but others were occasionally secured from distant places. The situation here implies a definite idea of purchase, for "slaves" were bartered for horses from one people to another and from one man to another within a tribe. Eixarch¹⁹⁴ records that he obtained an Apache boy slave from a Yuma in return for a horse.

The taking and keeping of captives is a distinctly Southwestern and non-Californian trait.¹⁹⁵

WEAPONS

Clubs and Spears.—These were fashioned from the relatively abundant and heavy wood of the mesquite. The short club (ke'lyaxwai) was of the distinctive type found in the Lower Gila and Lower Colorado region (Pima, Cocopa, Mohave, etc.; see fig. 8.) It was a very short weapon, often less than a foot in length. The head had the form of the base of a truncated cone. The upper surface was slightly hollowed and its edge was kept sharp so that maximum damage might be inflicted. The short handle was pointed at the tip and pierced to take a thong which was looped around the wrist. It was essentially a weapon for close-in fighting and used only by the bravest men. The clubber endeavored to jab his opponent with the pointed handle in the stomach and then, as his victim doubled up, the club was brought up with a twisting movement and smashed into his face.

Longer clubs (to'kyet), consisting of tapering truncheons of mesquite wood about two feet long and one and a half to two inches thick, were also used. These were frequently carried for self-defense by the women who accompanied war parties.

The spear (ū'tā't) was simply a stabbing stick, a four-foot stake of mesquite wood, sharpened at one end which had been hardened in the fire. It was distinct from the double-pointed feathered staff (aokwi'l), which was never used as a weapon.

Stone knives were used in both hunting and fighting. The material was obtained from the mesa. Suitably shaped rock fragments were sought out, which were roughly trimmed to a point at one end, the other being bound with sinew or willow-bark twine to form a dagger-like weapon about eight inches long.

Bow and Arrow.—Mesquite afforded the best bow wood but it was difficult to obtain a suitable straight length and willow was most commonly used. The bow (utī'e) was about five feet long, light, and

¹⁹⁴ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:322.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 573.

unbacked. A willow branch a little more than an inch thick was split lengthwise. One-half was trimmed to shape and bound with damp bark. By heating in the hot ashes of a fire and manipulating on the knee, it was given a sharp permanent curve at each end. After final trimming it was strung with deer, or more recently, horse sinew, from notches cut in either end (pl. 55).

The bows of all the Lower Colorado peoples are of this type; they are poor weapons, necessitating light arrows with a limited range and weak impact.

Both simple and foreshafted arrows (ĩ'pa') were made. Their length was measured along the arm from the tip of the index finger to the nearer nipple. The simple arrow (ĩ'pa'isa'v) was a light arrowweed (*Pluchea sericea*) stem about thirty inches long to which a triangular chipped stone arrowpoint was sometimes lashed with sinew. Stone arrowpoints were never abundant and no specimens are available at the present time.

The main shaft of the foreshafted arrow (ĩpa'axta') was of the light cane (axta—cane, i.e., *Phragmites communis* Trin.)¹⁹⁶ growing along the river banks; the tip (tova'lv) made of arrowweed or mesquite was about six inches long, pointed and hardened in a fire, and wedged tightly into the cane. The cane arrow was faster and lighter; it carried further and could be used with more accuracy than the arrowweed. Before using a foreshafted arrow the archer would chew the joint between the tip and shaft to ensure their separation after the impact.

Arrows were feathered with two or three six-inch crow or goose plumes. They were attached with mesquite gum and bound by fine sinew. My informants all stated that the same arrows were used for warfare and hunting.¹⁹⁷ Foreshafted arrows were apparently less numerous, but especially valuable in hunting game. Frequent reference to warriors who left the field with arrows "sticking out all over them," suggests that the simple shafts of pointed arrowweed were commonly used in war where many arrows were lost. Indeed, the rôle of the archers in battle was rather to intimidate and demoralize than seriously to injure the enemy. Hand-to-hand combat was the objective in warfare and arrow wounds are rarely spoken of as fatal.

¹⁹⁶ Identified by A. Eastwood, Calif. Acad. of Sciences, San Francisco.

¹⁹⁷ Kroeber, 4, was informed explicitly by the Mohave that only untipped arrowweed arrows were used in warfare. Like the Yuma, they believed the arrowweed to be poisonous because men would sometimes die after being wounded by arrows, although none had penetrated a vital organ.

Unfeathered arrows were used in fishing. Proprietary marks in red and black paint were usually placed by the owner on the feathered end of his arrows.

Arrowweed shafts were straightened between the teeth after they had been wrapped in damp bark and heated in the fire. Cane arrows needed straightening more frequently and were tried by pressure against a smooth, ridged stone kept for the purpose (ke'lyua'i). Grooved and bored arrow straighteners were unknown to my informants. Arrows should be straightened before each hunting trip and also every day when fighting is expected.

Arrows were carried in wildeat-skin quivers. The skins were cured intact, head, limbs, and tail remaining, and sewn up along the belly with an opening below the head.

The shooting position was a crouching one with a horizontal bow. The index finger of the left hand, which grasped the bow, was pointed at the object and the arrow was guided by it. The method of arrow release was not obtained with absolute certainty since archery, even as a sport, has been abandoned for many years. One informant, Joe Homer, described the Mediterranean release in which the pull is made on the string by the index, middle, and ring fingers, the arrow being wedged between the index and middle finger. This release is consistent with the more common two-feathered arrow of which specimens were obtained, since the feathering is at right angles to the direction of the notch and extends close to the butt, which is not knobbed.

Miguel, however, described the primary release in which the pull is on the arrow itself, which is held between thumb tip and the knuckle of the index finger. Arrows were held in this manner by the scouts in the mimic warfare at the keruk but the bows were not pulled. The method of release in the later shooting at night could not be observed. The Mediterranean release is possible in this area since it is found among the Luiseño of southern California, the San Carlos Apache of Arizona, and the Seri of Sonora and was the probable method among the Aztecs.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ On the problem of arrow release distribution see Morse, 1 and 2, and the more recent discussion by Kroeber, 5. Among the neighboring Cocopa, Gifford found the secondary release in use. The arrow butt was grasped by the thumb and index knuckle while the string was pulled by the tips of the middle and third finger.

SHIELDS

Shields (ca'kove) were sometimes carried in battle but their protective value was not great in close fighting and they were scorned by good fighters. No specimens were found in existence but they were described as hide discs, about two feet in diameter, bound on a willow frame. They were held by a central strap passing through the center of the shield. No feathers were attached, but the hide was daubed with red paint. The painting of shields with different colors in four quarters, as reported for the Cocopa,¹⁹⁹ was unknown.

The ceremonial shield (akwē'l', fig. 16) was, according to Joe Homer, formerly carried in battle by one of the stave bearers. It was of magical value to the party, but did not protect the bearer since it was covered only by light buckskin.

TRAINING

Boys were given a sporadic military training throughout their youth. After the initiation rite they were expected to form parties and run long distances across country under the leadership of the older men. They played arrow games and target shooting. Two parties were lined up facing each other and told to shoot with blunt arrows in turn, so that they might acquire skill in dodging arrows. Such groups would also sling hard mud balls at each other. The balls were stuck on the end of flexible willow sticks which were swung from the shoulder so that the balls flew out toward their opponents. These were used only in training boys, never in warfare. Boys were also sent out in war party formation to destroy hornets' nests. Those who received stings were considered wounded and were treated by doctors. The nest had to be entirely destroyed before the party might return home.

Old fighters would also arrange sham battles on a large scale in which young men, boys, and even women would take part. The two parties would track each other down from a distance and fight with blunt arrows and sticks until one side ran away or lost too many members through minor injuries. The older men would decide who would have been wounded or killed, and judge disputes as to victory.

The militarism of the Lower Colorado peoples is in marked contrast with the peaceableness of the Californians to the north and

¹⁹⁹ Gifford, 7.

west.²⁰⁰ But there is no indication that it arises from any innate pugnacity of temperament, absent among their western neighbors. In their tribal and private life there is and was very little strife. A man showed his strength by spiritual and magical, rather than practical means, and the individual was and is extremely mild.

The explanation of this continual fighting is to be sought in the deeply rooted tradition of warfare as a means for obtaining and demonstrating tribal strength. This tradition is associated with a definite technique of fighting, with particular criteria of bravery, and the use of the feathered standards, symbols of bravery and invincibility analogous to those of the Plains. Above all, warfare enters intimately into the creation myth and its reenactment in ritual. While it would be impossible to prove that the mythological and ritual correlates are earlier than the practice of habitual fighting among these people, the two would appear to be associated in origin. While no attempt is made here to demonstrate or investigate the source of the military tradition among the Colorado Yumans, it appears inherently probable that their particular weapons, their feathered staves, and their attitude toward war have correlates outside the area, that the militarism of these people is not a local growth but their particular expression of a tradition which has entered the area probably from the south. The scantiness of our knowledge of military practices in the wide area between the Mexican highlands and the Colorado makes it impossible to attempt detailed comparative study. But although there is a great difference between an Aztec army and a Yuma war party, it appears probable that they are both terms in a wide proliferation of military practices which also penetrated the Plains and the Southeast.

The parallels to be noted between the ceremonial shield of the Yuma and the fringed shields of the southern Plains suggests that there has been direct influence from the east, perhaps at a relatively recent date, but "feathered shields" are also found in Sinaloa and these too may have reached the Plains and the far west from southern centers. (See p. 269.)

The conditions on the Lower Colorado, then, would appear to conform to the postulates of Perry²⁰¹ that primitive warfare, in the sense of organized violent behavior, is an institution, not an innate tendency, a product of human culture depending everywhere for its existence and perpetuation on a definite code of belief and practice

²⁰⁰ Cf. Kroeber, 2.

²⁰¹ Perry, 1, 2, 3, and 4, 191 ff.

more stable and significant than any one of the series of military activities in which it is manifested; in other words, that a warlike society must of necessity maintain a permanent tradition and apparatus without which its practices will fall into decay. Reviewing the data over a wide area he finds a very high correlation between truly primitive culture and an absence of warfare, a condition which very largely substantiates the view of the romantic philosophers that warfare was a product of corruption. Although it undoubtedly utilizes such universal human qualities as the instinct for self-preservation and the desire for esteem, it does not proceed directly, as McDougall has suggested,²⁰² from any fundamental and particular instinct of pugnacity, but has developed in certain areas in response to cultural stimuli and passes through the vicissitudes of all cultural phenomena, flourishing at one time, declining at another, spreading in association with other cultural equipment from one people to another, ramifying over vast areas and forming new adhesions; so that the warfare of one area, although apparently quite dissimilar in technique and objective, may yet in certain instances be shown to be genetically related; whence it is to be concluded that apart from certain origin centers in which the cultural foundations were elaborated, the practice of warfare in any area has proceeded from the introduction of definite traits such as military traditions, warrior classes, human sacrifice, and theories of the value of human heads and scalps.

No detailed analysis or critique of these views is possible here, but the agreement of certain of the postulates with the conditions on the Lower Colorado are pointed out, since fundamentally it is in the possession of a crystallized military tradition that these belligerent peoples differ from the more peaceful tribes of California. The ritual and mythological foundation, the style of their fighting, the weapons and symbols, the association of warfare with scalp trophies which involve fasting and purification but yield spiritual power, all indicate that the warfare of this region is related to the wider militancy of the south and east and is probably as intrusive as their agriculture and the metate.

²⁰² McDougall, 59 ff.

THE CREATION

The Yuma story of the creation has been published by Harrington.²⁰³ It was told by Joe Homer, who remains the recognized myth teller. Harrington's abstract²⁰⁴ follows:

Kwikumat and Blind-Old-Man emerge from the water. The latter becomes blind because he opens his eyes while still in the water. Kwikumat makes dry land, also the moon and one star. He also makes a Yuma, Diegueño, Cocopa, and Maricopa man and woman out of mud, swings life into them, names them with the tribal names, and gives them speech. Blind-Old-Man makes four fingerless and toeless people. Kwikumat kicks them into the water, where they become Duck, Beaver, Turtle, and Wild-Goose. Blind-Old-Man flees into the ocean, whence he emits pestilence.

The Yuman woman is forbidden by Kwikumat to marry the Cocopa man. She is then tempted by Blind-Old-Man. Kwikumat sends a flood to punish her. He transforms the people into animals except the Yuma man, whom he names Marxokuvek.

Kwikumat creates a house at Axavol'po. He creates a woman, Xavasumkulvi, and a man. He cohabits with the woman. In four days she bears Kumastamxo.

Kumastamxo creates the sun and the stars. Kwikumat creates more people. Kumastamxo causes vegetation to grow, gives the people seeds of food-plants, and institutes agriculture.

Kumastamxo fastens the sun, but Kwikumat sets it free.

Marxokuvek creates Coyote, Raven, Mountain-Lion, and Cougar. These animals by their conduct enrage Kwikumat, who sends a second flood, which rises until it touches Raven's tail, and then subsides through the instrumentality of Kumastamxo, who wishes not to drown Raven. The waters sink so low that Blind-Old-Man comes forth again. He tries in vain to tempt Xavasumkulvi.

Xavasumkulvi, and later Kwikumat, instruct the people how to produce children.

Kumastamxo dreams Kwikumat and Marxokuvek sick. Kwikumat creates Rattlesnake, who bites Marxokuvek. Kwikumat throws Rattlesnake into the northern ocean, where he dwells.

Kumastamxo teaches the Yuma men how to cure the sick.

Marxokuvek dies. Kwikumat revives him.

Kwikumat creates more people. As punishment for their racial aloofness, he destroys them with fire. Kumastamxo saves some good people by burying them in snow. Others escape by flight.

Kwikumat makes horse and boat for the whites. He drives them away because of their unbelief.

Kumastamxo gives bows and arrows to the Yuma.

Kwikumat makes another flood. The waves make the mountains. Kumastamxo rescues some people; others on a mountain he turns to stone.

Kwikumat creates Yuma-Old-Woman.

Kwikumat offends his daughter, Frog, who therefore causes his death by burrowing up under him and eating his excrement. He dies after charging

²⁰³ Harrington, 328 ff.

²⁰⁴ *Idem.*, 347.

Kumastamxo to complete his work. Wren decides to burn Kwikumut, and conducts the cremation. The people believe that Coyote will steal Wren's heart instead of Kwikumut's. Beaver and Ant-Lion prepare the pyre. Wren sends Coyote east to fetch fire. But House-Fly and Big-Blue-Fly produce fire while he is gone. Coyote returns and steals Kwikumut's heart. Chicken-Hawk pursues Coyote in vain. Coyote becomes an outcast because he has stolen the heart, and crazy because he has eaten it. He copulates with Moon, and she carries him up to the sky. At the cremation Brown-Bug and Green-Bug begin to cry first; then all the people cry. Individuals throw their hair, feathers, or tails into the fire. Frog keeps burrowing beneath the earth. The fourth time she emerges, she becomes a rock.

In the ocean Rattlesnake grows to enormous size. Kumastamxo summons him to Axavol'po on the pretext that he is needed to cure a sick man. When he reaches Axavol'po, Kumastamxo kills him. His blood becomes gold, his spittle silver, and his head gravel, his body a bulwark about the earth, and his urine the ocean.

Kumastamxo burns his house at Axavol'po. He instructs Night-Hawk to habitually wake people up in the morning.

Kumastamxo makes the Colorado River flow forth by thrusting a spear into the ground. With the spear he also cuts its channel.

Kumastamxo and certain medicine-men float down the river on a raft. Kumastamxo slays a great snake near Mellen. He settles the Yavapai south of Parker.

Kumastamxo takes the people to Avikwaame Mountain. Here various animals build him a house, in which he instructs people in the Yuma religion. He gives the Yuma "nations" their totemic names. Kumastamxo dismisses the various tribes to their present territories.

The Yuma and Diegueño march west and hold a ceremony at Aviive'ra Mountain, where they are attacked by the Cocopa and Maricopa.

Kumastamxo and Marxokuvek start to return to Avikwaame Mountain. Marxokuvek sickens. The Yuma carry him south. He dies near Yuma, and is burnt on a mountain near Gila City.

Kumastamxo sinks into the earth, where he remains four days. Then, emerging, he transforms himself into four different kinds of eagles.

The myth as obtained from Joe Homer in 1928-29 varies very little in the earlier parts from the version obtained by Harrington. But the later episodes in which Kumastamxo instructs the people on Avikwame' was obtained in far greater detail. Since this section of the myth is the basis of the keruk ritual, it is of the greatest practical importance and frequently discussed among the natives but mentioned only with reserve before strangers. Some of Joe's views are disputed by others. The versions obtained from various informants are given in the account of the mourning ceremony.²⁰⁵

It is a remarkable and characteristic trait of the Yuma creation story that the origin and mythological history of all the neighboring linguistically related peoples are included. The Maricopa figure prominently but the linguistically divorced Pima are not mentioned.

²⁰⁵ See pp. 214-221.

In this myth the Yuma associate themselves with the Diegueño rather than the Mohave. The Southern Diegueño do not, however, appear to show a reciprocal interest in the neighboring river peoples, and the Yuma are mentioned only casually with the Cahuilla.²⁰⁶ In his comparative analysis of the origin myths of Southern California, Kroeber²⁰⁷ has indicated the relations between the cosmogonies of the Southern Shoshoneans and the Yuman tribes. An underlying stratum of quarreling brother creators is found among the Shoshoneans (Cupéño, Cahuilla, and Serrano), the Yuma, the Diegueño, and half-forgotten, the Mohave. The more western Shoshoneans, however, had a concept of Earth Mother, Sky Father creation. All things were born from the Earth Mother and Wiyot, the divinity, is but the leader of men. Among the Mohave this concept has almost obliterated the presumably older belief found among the Yuma that the creation began with the emergence from below the ocean of the two creators who proceed to model mankind and the animal kingdom out of clay. This sea emergence appears to be a specifically Yuman trait, whereas the Sky-Earth cosmogony of the Luiseño and Mohave is, as Kroeber points out, of distinctly Pueblo type.

The complex of ideas connected with the dying god and Coyote's theft of his heart is again common to both the Yumans and Shoshoneans:

This concept of the dying god and of the mourning for him, is universal among Yumans and Shoshoneans, and is probably the dominant and most poignantly felt motive of every mythology in southern California. Its analogue in the Aztec Quetzalcoatl story has already been commented upon; but it is important that no parallel is known among the Pueblos or any true southwestern people. There may have been connections with the central and south Mexican story through Sonora. But except for dim suggestions, the development of the idea is probably local. All the Californians make much of the origin of death; and the Yuman and southern Shoshonean tale appears to think less of the impending end of the great god himself than of the fate of humanity as typified by him.²⁰⁸

The Yuma are, however, closer to the Mohave in their attitude to Kukumat and his son Kumastamxo than is suggested by Kroeber. Kukumat (Matavilya of the Mohave) is revered and mourned but he is a vague and symbolic figure. It is towards Kumastamxo (Mas-tamho) that warmth and gratitude are shown, for he was the teacher of mankind and remains the enduring source of spiritual power, giving strength to the people and instructing the spirits of the first

²⁰⁶ Spier, 2, 331. This account is, however, very summary. Cf. also Waterman, 2, 271 ff.

²⁰⁷ 2, 788-92.

²⁰⁸ Kroeber, 2, 790.

men, who still surround him, to confer supernatural power on leaders and doctors. The vital and significant part of the creation follows the death of Kukumat. While mourning his father Kumastamxo confers power and culture upon the people. It is this that is re-enacted in the keruk ritual. The curious Pueblo-like snake monster who embodies evil and contains sicknesses in his body is common to Yuma, Mohave, and Diegueño. In the Yuma keruk he is symbolically destroyed and the sicknesses are driven out by the fire into distant mountains. "This is an incident not recorded among any Shoshonean tribe; but the monster recurs in the Zuñi kolowisi and is an ancient southwestern concept with water associates."²⁰⁹

THE SOUL AND AFTER LIFE

The soul or spirit, metr'aō', dwells within the body and is associated with the heart. In addition to the soul proper, the shadow, metkwīca', has a soul-like quality. It may be stolen by witchcraft and so cause sickness. At death the shadow disappears into space. The pulses which can be felt at various parts of the body are considered as small independent souls. Their loss may also cause sickness. The metr'aō' continues to exist after death. At first it goes no great distance, remaining near its home but dwelling a little above human beings. Then after a progress through four different planes it finally reaches the land of the dead, amai mātapo'i (dwelling of the dead), or amaiðik kwasūmpo^p (fourth layer dwelling), which lies far to the south of Yuma territory. The after-world is considered as an ameliorated earth. Joe said:

It is the same as earth only there is no death; they eat the same sort of food but it is very good and plentiful, there is no frost and it is green all the year through. Those that are killed (i.e., fall in battle) stay in a special part near the river and have the best time of all. The dead know when the people are going to have a ceremony and come back on the fourth day and go to their own image and look for clothes. They have to wait till everything is burned, then the smoke carries the clothes and everything else up into the air where the dead spirit can get them.

The four planes previously mentioned include the earth and the final destination. From the earth, amu't, the soul passes first to ampō't, dust. This level is very little above the earth and is named from the very fine dust which permeates it. There is no wind and the

²⁰⁹ Kroeber, 2, 791.

dust which hangs in the air is finer than on earth. The third level, *asa'*, fog, lies farther south and still higher, and is enshrouded in fine mist from which it is named.

All prematurely dead persons live a longer time in each plane, growing no older. This allows those from whom they were taken to overtake them. So it is that when a mother reaches the fourth heaven she finds her child as it was when it died on earth. The progress is regulated so that the people who lived together on earth rejoin each other in the after-world. One story tells that souls finally become nothing but bits of cinder, but the more general belief is that they live indefinitely.

The owl is regarded with reverence and awe for the souls of the dead can return among the houses of the living in the guise of an owl and lure living souls (*metr'aō'*) with them to the land of the dead.²¹⁰ The hooting of an owl, therefore, announces the approach of a dead soul who might well be seeking a living companion on the road back to the south. Should anyone die, or even fall ill after hearing an owl, the misfortune would be attributed to the abstraction of the victim's soul. The veneer of Christianity and of American sophistication prevents most of the people from speaking of this or of the beliefs concerning the soul for fear of remonstrance or ridicule. One informant asked me very earnestly and with some anxiety whether "the people on the hill," i.e., the missions, really knew any more about it than the old men.

PRAYER

Direct invocation of the creator or of spirits is not characteristic of the Yuma, and prayer offerings are lacking. There is no intercession with Kumastamxo in daily life. The hunter used charms but did not pray to spirits. There was no prayer at planting or before the harvests were expected. The native term used for prayer is *ovrē'e*, meaning to kneel. This was adopted from the Christian custom of kneeling at prayer. Otherwise, according to Miguel, there is no word. The ordinary person did not pray. Dreamers alone held communication with the spirits, but gifts or sacrifices were never made. Kumastamxo is said to be addressed in some of the *keruk* speeches.

²¹⁰ Cf. Garcés, in Coues, I, who says that the Yuma view of the soul "coincided with the nonsense already related of the Opas," 201, i.e., "that when they die their ghost goes to live toward the Western Sea; that some of them after they die live like owls," 122.

The war dreamer (axwecama'—enemy dreamer, or kwánâmicama'—war leader dreamer) calls on various animals to trap the enemy and to indicate their position as described in the keruk ritual. Joe Homer and Miguel said that these war prayers had a set form, were in a "different" language and were received from one of the animal spirits in a dream. It appears that the doctor did not pray to, or intercede with, his guardian spirit when curing. The statements of Manuel and Steve, suggest rather that the songs and speeches of the doctor contained an inherent magic and were not appeals for the help of the spirit, or that they are formulas associated with the magical power at the time of its bestowal, which automatically, as it were, canalize the power at the time of the curing, whether it be in the form of an invisible spirit or is conceived only as a force latent within the doctor himself.

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

The aboriginal theories of disease and the belief in and practice of magical rites which will produce and cure sickness still persist among the Yuma despite the influence of American culture and the recognition that the doctors in the Agency hospital are "clever and have great power."

During the keruk of 1929 a girl of about seventeen lay in the brush a few yards from the clearing throughout the whole period. She was in the hands of a doctor who was attempting to cure a chest complaint. Although the doctor did not take exception to my presence, I was unfortunately prevented from approaching closely by the objections of the parents.

Eixarch (1775-76) recounts a curing by Pedro, leader of the village near Pilot Knob (Algodones):

Last night I heard this fellow chanting a canticle very deliberately and melancholic, having a sick man in his house to whom he gives such rubbings of the belly with sand that only a brute would be able to stand it. He blows on him many times and then blows against the wind making many passes as he blows. They say that in order to perform his office properly he bathes himself very carefully early in the morning.²¹¹

He also notes the interesting fact that a Yuma performed the usual curing practices in an endeavor to cure the wound of a horse.²¹²

Since dreamed power is essential for the performance of any important public duty, the doctor is not set off sharply from the rest

²¹¹ Eixarch, *Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 3:377.

²¹² *Op. cit.*, 340.

of the community. Many men are dreamers. The leaders, the singers, the funeral orators, all dream their power. The doctor may at the same time be a singer, an orator, or a "chief." Moreover, the doctor's claims are usually modest. His powers cover only a certain range of sickness or misfortune, beyond which he cannot go. He alone decides on the basis of his dreams or the advice of his guardian spirit what he is competent to treat. He regards his curing power as essentially of the same type as any other "power." As Kroeber says of the Mohave,²¹³ there is "a complete interweaving of shamanistic beliefs and curative practices with the national mythology and . . . complete dependence of both on individual dreaming."

Yet the power of a doctor is in one important aspect distinct from that of an orator or leader. The spirit, whom he encounters on his dream visit to *avikwame'*, remains faithful to him throughout his life, advises him when to accept a patient and how to treat the disease. The spirit in return demands obedience from the doctor.

If one is to be a great doctor the spirit appears before the man is born, when he is only one or two months in the womb. As he grows up he is shown many things but he does not cure yet. The one thing that the spirits impress on those they have chosen is that they must always obey and never doubt the power of the spirit. A man may have been shown how to cure many sicknesses but he may not attempt to do so until the spirit tells him. His obedience is often tested. His relatives may fall ill and he will want to try to save them; but if he tries to cure before the spirit tells him that he is ready he will himself fall sick.

This happened to an old *Kamya* who had been getting great power. A prominent man fell ill and he said he would like to cure him. He succeeded but shortly after fell dangerously ill. He almost died and afterwards said that his spirit [i.e., guardian spirit] had appeared to him during his sickness and had told him that he had lost all his power through disobedience.

Each doctor had his own particular spirit. Lincoln Johnson and Miguel claimed that these spirits were connected with animals. The relation was somewhat obscure.

Badger, Fox, Crow, Sun, Moon and other spirits appeared to doctors. The spirits do not appear in the form after which they are named. The spirits themselves are those of the first people who were created, who had great power, far more than men today. They tried to create men as the Creator himself had done, but succeeded only in making animals after which they themselves were named. Some say that the Creator was angry with them and turned them into the animals which they had created.

The spirits of the two doctors, Manuel and Steve, who described their dreams and powers, had, however, no animal qualities or associations. Their names were abstract and remarkably similar—*tenya'm kweny-*

²¹³ Kroeber, 2, 777.

masa'v (darkness, very pure) [Manuel] and tenya'm kwenya'me'ts (darkness, opposite to?) [Steve]. Badger and Raccoon spirits appeared to Manuel and taught him single cures, but they were not the chief source of his power.

The power of a doctor is limited by the scope of his dreams and the instructions of the spirit. Manuel Thomas, an old man of over eighty who had cured for many years, explained that:

A doctor gets his power for one sickness specially, that power may be good to cure other things, but he will not be so good for them. The visit to Avikwame' that the doctor makes when he is asleep gives him a general knowledge and power for curing. But for really great power he has to perform a cure of the disease while he is there. A few doctors have had many good dreams and are very powerful for many sicknesses. When a man is sick he gets the best doctor for his sickness that is around. If he is not so good, the doctor will send him on to another and he will get moved around until he is cured or dies. The Yuma are not angry if a doctor cannot cure, they are sorry his power is not so good and go to another. They do not try to hurt a doctor if the sick person dies unless they are sure it is witchcraft. But doctors don't often use witchcraft, they do not get the power for that, but only to cure the sicknesses they have dreamed of.

The existence of several broad categories of curing is implied in the special terms employed:

etsatcē'v, sickness curer (etsara'v, sickness)
 avetcē'v, snake (bite) curer
 i'patcē'v, arrow wound curer
 xwēmanatcē'v, stunned curer
 alye'eatcē'v, fracture curer
 metuḍa'vātē'v, witch doctor (curer of bewitchment)
 xelyatsamecāma', ghost dreamer

Within the general category of sickness (etsara'v) any one doctor will claim to be able to cure only certain forms, but the diagnosis depends largely on the doctor himself, sometimes with but scant attention to the symptoms of disease.

The relation of the doctor, his familiar spirit, and the patient is somewhat obscure and is said to vary in different diseases. In general the spirit merely instructs the doctor to undertake treatment and gives him the strength to effect the cure. With Manuel Thomas, as will be seen, the spirit does not appear to him whenever he is called to cure. Manuel decides his ability to cure by his own state of mind, which is optimistic and vigorous when he has the right power and apathetic and reluctant when he has not. He describes the power as always latent within him and makes no reference to direct vision of the spirit at the time of curing.

I had my dreams first when I was quite young [about 12 years old] but I did not try to cure until I was an old man. I remembered them quite clearly always and never forgot anything in them.

If I hear of a sick person something tells me whether his illness is one I would be good for. This may happen even if I have not had a dream and power especially for his sickness. If I feel right I know that if they have come for me I will be able to cure the man. When I have a good feeling I am very strong and light inside and any other doctor who works on the sick one usually fails. The patient and his relations know too, for I seem to draw the sick man to me. Always, I think, I have been asked to cure when I felt strong for it, and on these occasions I am always successful. When I am called to go to the sick man I have a different (i.e., special) feeling, it is like being back on the Mountain. There is some fluid in me which I have drawn from the air and I do not mind walking a great distance. I do not know how far I have traveled. When I work on the patient it does not tire me at all and it makes me very happy. Generally I can cure very quickly then, maybe in a few hours or in a day or two.

Sometimes I feel quite different about it, I don't get any good feeling and though I do my best I do not often cure then. I don't get any feeling of lightness and when I go away from the sick man I don't want to return to him. I feel heavy and tired and very sleepy at night. I think about all the jobs I have to do around here and cannot keep my mind on the sick man. I know it is really no good me trying to help him even if I have had a dream for his sickness.

But I do not always know how things are going to be. Sometimes I do not feel really good until I begin to cure. Other times I lose a lot of strength when I start to work on the patient and it does not go well.

One dream often gives power to cure several sicknesses, the doctor knows in his dream exactly what it is for. I can cure five or six and can give you the names of more, but I do not know them all.

In witchcraft, however, both in the bewitchment and curing, the spirit is believed to enter the doctor and true possession occurs. When a patient is on the point of death the doctor also attempts by singing to induce the spirit to enter his (the doctor's) body, whence it passes into the sick man in an effort to draw his soul back into his body. Doctors may also, according to Miguel, speak as the spirit in these cases; indeed, it is the spirit speaking but using the voice of the doctor because it has no voice of its own.

The patient, also, may have a guardian spirit who protects him through life. This spirit will assist in the cure. Pat's wife has such a spirit which

follows her all the time and speaks to her in dreams. She has never seen it, for it always speaks from behind, but it is a female spirit. She has no name for it. Once it saved her life, for she was very sick and unconscious and no one could do her any good. As they sat around her, suddenly a voice was heard speaking through her mouth, very gently but strong, saying, "Go and get onyakalak," a doctor who lived some distance away. The voice was different from her ordinary voice. Her father tried to make it speak again but it didn't answer. They sent for the doctor, who came a long distance and cured her, after everybody had thought that she would die.

Sicknesses which appear similar may yet be caused in entirely different ways. Four distinct causes of sickness emerge from the descriptive data obtained from Manuel Thomas and Stephen Kelly.

1. Sickness from natural causes, which include fractures, physical injuries, and colics from bad food. In this category fall numerous ailments of children which are usually ascribed to some mishap before or at birth. The alleged causes, although fanciful, do not involve any magical or dream influence. Massage and blowing of saliva on the injured part are used to aid the cure.

2. Dream poisoning by spirits in which the poison must be sucked out by the doctor. The seat of the poison may also be brushed with feathers and pointed at with the finger or a short stick.

3. Soul loss consequent on a severe blow resulting in unconsciousness, or due to the efforts of ghosts (i.e., the spirits of the dead) to carry off the soul of the patient, especially when weakened by other sickness. The blowing of tobacco smoke and the spraying of saliva frothed up in the mouth are devices employed to aid the recovery of the soul.

4. Bewitchment, in which one individual, generally a doctor, induces sickness in another by magical means with the aid of a spirit.

SICKNESS FROM NATURAL CAUSES

In the first category a number of chest ailments are distinguished. *retsux* is the general term for bad coughing. For *aox*, a common cold, a doctor is rarely called. Manuel Thomas, if called for a bad case of *aox*, would froth saliva over the head and chest, but he had no special cure or songs. *avaxanuts* is a feverish condition with violent coughing, frequently occurring in young children.

There is no pain in the daytime, but the child gets all hot at night and coughs all the time. Then in the morning it feels better again. This sickness is caused before the child is born. It happens from using sooty wood in cooking the food of the mother when she is pregnant. The odor gets carried into the child when the woman eats. The illness may not come on for a long time after birth. Some children have it badly and cough a great deal.

There are no songs for this sickness. When I cure I go to the child only at night and stay with it. First I blow saliva on my palms and press them on the chest to relieve the fever. Then I suck the chest and blow saliva on it. I keep this up all night with brief rests, and after a few nights it should get well.

aloxoa, a disease of newly born infants, is said to be caused by crushing during childbirth.

If the mother stops to take a breath when the child is coming out, she cannot open properly for it and crushes in its chest so that it does not breathe well after it is born. After they find the child is breathing very feebly they know what has happened and call any doctor, for it is not hard to cure. You rub the body gently from the shoulders down towards the legs and breathe on it (without saliva). There are no songs and the sickness generally gets better in a few days.

Rashes are known as *xemalyū's* (rough skin), hence the terms *xemalyus vatate*, for small-pox, and *xemalyus anakor*, for measles. Manuel Thomas had not the power to cure these sicknesses but knew that they came from a distant place and were carried by the winds. In this way he explained how so many people contracted them at the same time. *nye'xw^hatanyī'lk* (swallowing blood) is an infant's sickness in which the stomach swells. It is attributed to the swallowing of blood by the child during parturition. This poisons the blood and the doctor's aim is to cause vomiting or excretion of blood. He massages the stomach with a wet thumb but does not froth saliva or sing.

Minor stomach troubles with acute pains and constipation were very common in the old days and were attributed to bad food and to drinking too much water when very hungry. Manuel treated these, but "was not very good for it." The doctor presses the belly to loosen the bowels, sucks the belly on each side and again below the navel. This draws out impurities. Frothed saliva is sprayed over the belly as a further inducement to evacuation. When this has been effected the patient usually recovers.

xatakū'lyāda'o is recognized by bleeding from the rectum. This is usually thick and dark. The patient is not unwell apart from acute rectal pains, but the condition is regarded as a stomach disease and is treated in the same way. Manuel said, however, that the condition might appear suddenly and go away in a few days, or might linger on recurrently for years.

If a patient gets worse despite the doctor's efforts, it is clear that the sickness is more serious than was thought and has been caused by dream poisoning or bewitchment, whereupon cures suitable for these conditions are attempted.

DREAM POISONING

The nature and curing of dream poisoning was described by Manuel Thomas, who had received powers to cure such diseases:

The first power I had was to cure *icáma xekwí'r* (dream wasting). It is one of the worst sicknesses, which is caused by an animal who lives out in the desert. The animal is *xumí'r* (?chipmunk); a little animal with a curving body, it has a black back with a white streak along it. Its tail sticks up in the air. This animal appears as a small human being in a dream, to anyone who is going to be afflicted. You always see the desert in your dream before this sickness. The little chipmunk man is walking in the desert. He has a supply of fine ground mesquite flour, dampened and made into little balls, which he throws to the dreamer, who cannot resist the temptation and eats one of them. The sweetness goes into the insides and remains there. It slowly dries them all up. On awakening, the dreamer does not want to eat, his insides are all dry and he gets thinner and thinner and will slowly die.

This dream sometimes causes other forms of sickness, such as great swellings on the skin and open sores or hard lumps on the skin, *icáma haká'p* (dream holes, i.e., sores), which do not go away and slowly rot away underneath.

In reply to questions Manuel described the following symptoms for *icáma xekwí'r*:

At first there is a little fever but no pain, defaecation is normal but makes the patient very weak. He can eat very little and if the disease lasts long he evacuates very little. The patient can only drink water and that, too, often tastes bitter.

The patient is brought to the doctor's house. The doctor enquires about the dream and immediately recognizes the ailment. If he has come in time there is a good chance of recovery. He inhales tobacco smoke [formerly another weed was used] and fills his mouth with frothed saliva. With these he blows a smoky spray on to the patient's head. He then sucks on each breast above each nipple and in the middle, a little below the breastbone. [Sucking is believed to draw poisoned blood out of the body. No wound is made, the blood flowing through the pores without trace.] He will then massage the stomach with his hands, but this is not considered absolutely necessary. During the treatment a series of songs are sung. This treatment is employed three times a day and three times at night for three days; by this time the patient should show some signs of recovery. The doctor feels the body at each visit. If the body gets cooler he orders a watery mush of green tepary bean. If the temperature remains down, a fire is built and green arrowweeds are placed on top. The patient is bathed in warm water and his body is then smoked over the fire. This is done once a day in the morning for four days, after which he should be well enough to take a normal diet. The doctor must fast during the cure, eating only a little corn meal without salt. The less he eats, the greater his power.

Manuel described the dream which gave him power to cure these sicknesses:

In my dream I was called to Avikwame'. It took me only four steps to get there. I saw the shelter. In front of it on the ground were two war bonnets, the ceremonial shield (akwē'l), two feathered staves (aokwī'l) and sandals. There were many gourds all around. In the shelter were two men both bigger than ordinary men. They were really spirits. One said, "I shall not tell you what you are here for; someone else shall come for that."

Another spirit now appeared and the first speaker said, "Here is tenyá'm kwenyamasá'v, and I knew it was the spirit who gives power to leaders and doctors among our people. tenyá'm kwenyamasá'v came right in front of me and said, "I will give you power but I shall not tell you the things to do. When you want to know something these others will tell you."

On the ground before me I noticed a collection of things: a piece of burnt wood (about six feet long) still glowing at one end, a small cane tube (about two inches long) filled with tobacco and alight, with the burning end stuck in the ground, and a bowl of water. Without being told I seemed to know what to do and I took up the cane tube, smoked it and inhaled four times. Then I picked up the bowl, washed my mouth and spat out the water.

Looking around, I now saw two persons lying at the west end of a space of level ground close to me. They appeared human but were turned away so that at first I could not see very well. The one on the north side had great big lumps all over his body looking like boils ready to burst; the other also had lumps on his skin but they were already broken open and he was full of sores. Their sickness was icáma haká'p.

I came with the spirit tenyá'm kwenyamasá'v to the north side of these persons. tenyá'm kwenyamasá'v instructed me, singing the songs to be used in curing these kinds of sickness. He sang the first song standing on the north side, for the second he moved to the west, standing by their heads. He sang again on the south and finally on the east side, making four songs in all.

The first song, tenyá'm kwenyamasá've ya' masá've, calls for the help of the spirit. Those are the words and they are repeated over and over.

The second is kwenyamudhá'ne and says, "I am dragging the sick man away from his sickness. I am grabbing you back from sickness," calling on the north heaven which draws down life-giving fluid into the sick man.

The third song is onaye'areao, the way to health. It tells, "I have heard of your sickness, I have the power to cure and I have come to cure you. I shall take your body and bend you back and forth and give you new life. All sickness shall leave you and you shall be well."

The fourth song, yaxa'i yaxa, is called by an old name for the "chipmunk." It talks to the "chipmunk" dwarf who had come to the sick man in his dreams and tells him, "You are a weak thing, without power, hasty and heedless of our power. You are evil, go back to the western heaven where you belong. Stay away and do not dare to return."

Nothing happened after the spirit had sung the songs for he had not put his power into them. He told me to sing them, now promising his power. I sang the four songs and when I had finished the last, the two sick men sat up without help and rubbed themselves all over because the sores and lumps were going away. They stood up and walked over to a pool of water which lay to the north. They jumped in and washed themselves and when they came back their skin was all fresh and no marks of their sickness were left. Now I noticed that there were skeletons all around on the ground and these, as if being led by some leader, made four long cries of joy at my success.

The sicknesses I saw in the dream were *icâma hakâ'p*, but they belong to a family of illnesses for which the same songs are good. The others are *icâma xekwî'r* and *icâma yakâpe't*. I knew without being told what the songs were for all these sicknesses. That is why I would use them for *icâma xekwî'r* for they are all caused by the same bad dream as I have told.

The happenings in the dream also told me the other things I was to do for curing. Picking up the cane and sipping the water meant that I was to use smoke and saliva to cure with. It was the smoking that gave me understanding without being told anything and the water made me pure and gave me a feeling for the whole human race.

Before I had my dreams I knew that men could cure others if they had the power, but I did not pay any attention to it. My first dream, that I have told you, came quite unexpectedly when I was still a child about twelve years old. I did not ask the spirits for it.

icâma yakâpe't is the other sickness I got the power for in this dream. Women mostly have it and the dream that they get beforehand is a little different. The woman sees little dwarf creatures but they are the spirits of the arrowweed; they gather around and form a circle. They dance and the woman joins in.

She feels bad when she wakes up and after a little time says wild things and becomes rough or else screams out. She won't let anybody touch her and when she has to be brought to the doctor it often takes three or four men to hold her down. A great deal of strength comes into the body with this sickness. Quite often she is tied up before the doctor begins to work.

The cure is the same as I have already said, except that there is no sucking because there is no poison to be got out of the body. It is a spirit only that has to be driven out.

The set pattern of the curing dream is indicated by the similarity of Steve's dream. Steve is a younger man and has been practicing only a few years. He lives several miles from Manuel and is not related or connected with him:

I did not dream any power until I was about forty years. One night I was asleep and a spirit came. His name was *tenya'm kwenyame'ts* (darkness different from, shining darkness). He had wings and flew down to where I was and told me to get up and come with him to *avikwame'*. He lifted me up by the small of the back and took me there through the air. Then he said, "What do you want?" and I answered I didn't know. Then he said "I can see all over the world. You look too and you will see." First he told me to look down to the right and I saw four trails coming together. One trail was for Yuma, one for Mohave, one for Maricopa, and one for Cocopa. The spirit said, "Seeing this means you will be able to speak to all these people," and after that night I was one of the best to understand all those people said. Then I came back and soon I woke up. The next night I went again to *avikwame'*. The spirit did not come for me. I just went by myself. It only took a minute. The spirit was there and spoke to me. He said, "I will give you a little thing," and showed me a bit of stick, like arrowweed, but thicker. He tried to bend it but it wouldn't budge. Then he breathed on it and tried again and it broke into two pieces. So then he breathed on it again and rubbed it and put it back whole as if it had not been broken. And I said, "What is that for?" The spirit said, "When a man breaks his arm, you can mend it that way. Breathe on it and rub it like I do. So I tried to break and mend the stick and did it easy, just like he did. So the spirit said "That's

fine, now I've showed you how to do it, you can go back and try." Then I went back again every night for four nights. Nothing special happened but it was good to go because it is cool up there like when snow is on the ground and moist like when there is a mist. But it is clear and you can see everything. There were lots of things and people but I didn't go near anything; just stayed where I was with the spirit. He was like a man but very white,—more white than an American and he had white hair, white whiskers, and white wings. He was bright and shining. I guess that's why he was called *tenyam kwenyamets*, which is opposite of darkness.

Soon after one of my boys broke his arm and I cured it just like the spirit said and since then I have cured lots of broken bones.

When I cure, I sing songs which the spirit told me to sing. That's what makes the cure good. I sing like this:

ma'nyi your	miwa' heart	xo'tem good	
kutīnyā'm darkness	kwenyame'ts very different from	viye'mem is going to be	
ilyəmoδū'ts [now] you think	wilnyamū'ē'm unpleasant		
etsaxo't Goodness	ilyəmoδū'ts. you think [of]		
məpā'm lie down	acāma'tviδī'. sleep here		
tenya'm darkness	kwenyame'ts very different from	viya'm is going	toke'kya to make meeting
elye'kəδūts You think of this	etsaxo't good		mecāma'ts in your dream
xotmai good given	hesa'e't will yet be.		
e'im I will speak	a'e'tkwiva'ha it will be made		a'e'tkwi'etxa it will be done here
a'e'tsəkukia'v I will ask for	ma'nyimoxo't all your good		
va'e'tkwiva'tka it will now be done sitting	va'e'tkwiva't it will be done sitting		aδukya here in this place

Your heart is good.
 [The spirit] Shining Darkness will be here.
 You think only of sad unpleasant things,
 You are to think of goodness
 Lie down and sleep here
 Shining Darkness will join us
 You think of this good in your dream
 Goodness will be given to you
 I will speak for it, and it will come to pass
 It will happen here
 I will ask for your good
 It will happen as I sit by you
 It will be done as I sit here in this place.

It will be observed that Steve's song, although he cures only accidental injuries to which a magical cause is not ascribed, nevertheless implies an active intervention of his guardian spirit, who is said to come at the call of the doctor.

In another dream Manuel received the power to cure *xwet matcē'rk*, a stomach disease also caused by dream poisoning.

A person dreams that he is traveling on a strange path and finds food all prepared by the side of the trail. He eats and enjoys it greatly. The very next day sharp stomach pains come on. The patient is constipated and bleeding accompanies difficult defecation.

When I was at *avikwame'* I saw two animals who were also like humans. They were *maxwa'* (badger) and *nāmu's* (raccoon). They showed me the disease and gave me the songs to cure it.

To cure the disease you must drive out the dream food which was poisonous. It is the smell of the food which is making the sickness. I sit by the patient and just press and pound on his stomach as I sing. Then I blow on it (with smoke or saliva) to drive off the odor. Next I suck his stomach at the navel and blow saliva on it. I will do this three times a day until the sick person is better, sometimes it takes a week or two, but after a good motion he begins to recover and the blood stops coming.

Paralysis of the face or body is known as *avekucwī'l*, because it is believed to be the work of *avē'* (mouse), who enters the body in a dream. Manuel Thomas could give no details of the cause or of the power necessary to cure it but claimed that some doctors have been very successful. *elha'xno* (gonorrhea) was also dream-caused, and cured by some doctors, but Manuel had no power for it.

SOUL LOSS

Soul loss follows both from severe injury, shock, or fright and the efforts of ghosts or bewitchers.

In a later dream series which lasted several nights, Manuel received the power to cure sickness in which severe injuries resulted in exhaustion and coma. The coma was produced by the efforts of the man's soul to leave the body which was no longer any use to it.

I'pa, coma or numbness from arrow wounds. This cure has a special dream, others have had it too. I went to *avikwame'* where there were four arrowweed stems lying on the ground. They were not prepared for arrows but were very straight. I picked one up and ran it to and fro through my closed hand after blowing saliva on the palm. This peeled the stick which I put around my waist. I pulled it tight so that the ends met without breaking the stick. I now picked up the second and stuck it in the ground, then I bent it to and fro to make it flexible, for I knew I had to make this one go twice around my waist. I tried to

do this but it snapped. I was very careful with the third stick, because breaking is a very bad sign; I made it flexible and got it around me twice, but just as I was going to tie it up it too snapped near one end. I now took the fourth and was very careful this time. All went well and I was able to tie the ends together, by which I knew I had some power to cure arrow wounds. But my power was not very great and I could not hope to be always successful. The good arrow wound doctors never break any of the arrowweeds in their dream.

A doctor who can cure *īpa* goes along with a war party. Beforehand he collects young willow plants about three feet high, cuts them at the ground, peels them, and coils the bark into little balls. He generally makes four of these, one from each plant. Before beginning to cure a man, he puts one in his mouth, this draws out the saliva and makes it sharp and cold when it leaves the mouth, so that when he blows froth in the cure it drives away faintness and prevents coma. In the cure four songs are sung too, but the doctor does not suck the wounds or any part of the body. The patient is seated propped on the ground, facing east. The doctor stands in front a little way away and blows saliva all over the patient from this distance. In between he walks to and fro, always facing the sick man and singing the four songs. It would not be good to tell these songs.

If the cure is going to work, the doctor has a creeping feeling which starts in the feet and rises over the body. If this stops at the knees or the waist he knows he cannot do much good, but if it goes on rising he knows the patient is getting along, and when the tingling gets right up to the top of his head something goes out of the doctor into the sick man and he knows he has made a cure. This feeling of success is not the same as in other sicknesses, which come beforehand as I said.

xweman and hata'olyuk are similar to *īpa* but caused by different injuries. As in *ipa*, the sick man loses consciousness and his spirit is believed to be drawn out of his body by the severity of his injury.

xweman is caused by several club wounds over the head and body. Like arrow wounds, this was a common war injury in the old days. A bad fall has the same effect, the soul is driven out of the body by the severity of the blow. The soul goes up with the dust caused by the fall and hovers above undecided whether to return. The main object is to get it to come back to the body. This is achieved by blowing frothed saliva over the body to clear the dust that obscures it from the soul, so that the soul can find its way back.

hata'olyuk is the corresponding collapse consequent on several knife or spear wounds.

Ghost influences fall in the same category as ordinary "curing" and although the achievement may be considered somewhat more esoteric, the technique is the same, the object being to restore the soul to the body. The doctor smokes copiously, attempting thereby to find the lost soul. There is no sucking since there is no poison in the body. Manuel Thomas named the special disease, *halyatsxamn huθao* (ghost taking), in which the soul of a human being is danced off by his dead relations. The symptoms vary from lassitude to unconsciousness. The cure he was not disposed to tell; but it was "like curing other sicknesses, but with the proper songs." It is, however, noteworthy that the ghost doctor is called spirit dreamer (*xelyatsxa'm cáma'*) and not a curer (suffix, *-teēv*). The task is more severe than

ordinary curing, since in severe cases the soul no longer hovers round the body and has to be brought back from the land of the dead.

It sometimes happens that a man drops down "dead" and may be in that condition for days. The soul has been taken away by that of a relative who wants it with him in the spirit world. I remember it happening just across the border when I was a young man. They got a ghost doctor because the man had not been sick at all. The doctor came about midday and stretched the body out in the open with the head lying to the east. He built four little hills of sand in a line stretching away from his feet to the west. He stood near the westernmost hill and took out of his bag cane tubes with tobacco in them. Carrying these he walked in a wide circle around the man, singing as he went. He stopped where he had begun and laid the tubes at his feet. Then he picked up one, lit it and smoked. In one whiff all the tobacco had gone. But no smoke came out of his mouth. In a minute the smoke began to come out of the hill nearest to the dead. He repeated this four times, walking around, singing, smoking and making the smoke come out of the hills one after another. When he had finished he waited awhile and then said that the dead man's soul could not be found in the spirit world, that no one knew about it. He said that the spirits had not taken it and perhaps it was witchcraft.

This doctor was killed later on because a sick man accused him of bringing the souls of dead relatives to speak to him at night. The spirits would call to him, asking his soul to join them and he grew tired of life. He suspected the doctor because they had had a dispute about their powers. He got weaker and would lie unconscious for several hours. At length he died, calling on this ghost doctor to relieve him and send away the spirits. The ghost doctor was fetched by the relatives but said he had no power for the sickness.

The relatives accused the doctor and were so certain from what the dead man had said that they killed him. But the dead man had lost many relatives who were dear to him. If they had not been enemies the family would not have killed the doctor. (Miguel.)

The sister of Hipa Norton suffered soul loss, according to Miguel, and described her experiences when she recovered.

During the last night of the keruk, about twenty years ago she fell down unconscious and was not yet restored for several hours. She said afterwards that she had suddenly heard a great rumbling noise as if a lot of horses were coming towards her at full speed. Then she found that she herself was riding on a horse, behind a man, a relative who had been dead for several years. A great number of others were on horseback all around her. They were all riding towards the south. Presently they came to a large village. The people were Yuma and she recognized many people who had died. These came out to meet her and were very glad. But after some time a great cloud of smoke appeared in the west as if a fire were going to sweep over the village. Everybody ran, she tried to run but could not move fast. She stumbled over a block of wood and fell down. Just then she came to and found a doctor working over her. The smoke from his tobacco was the smoke that appeared in the spirit world which drove off the other people and brought her soul back.

SORCERY

Bewitchment (*metuḍa'uk*—he is bewitched) is generally practiced only by doctors. Only those who have a very powerful spirit can do it, and a doctor who bewitches (*metuḍauvu'k*) can also cure victims of witchcraft (*metuḍa'vatcē'v*). Sometimes ordinary people bewitch; they suddenly get the power. Steven Kelly gave an account of a bewitchment and cure he witnessed as a young man. It was corroborated by Miguel:

Witch doctors get their power from the *etsō'r* (hawk). On New Year's Day in 1897 I was coming over to the horse-racing along the river bank, and was met by a friend. We came along together and after about half a mile stopped to wait for some others. In front of a house close by a girl was standing. She looked at us and then turned her back.

Later in the day we were riding home in a bunch when my friend came up to me and said, "There's something wrong with me, I think I'm going to die." And as he spoke he toppled off his horse and fell to the ground. When I got down to him he was dead. We tried to revive him with water but could not and sent word back to the relatives who came and took his body home. One of them suspected that he had been bewitched and sent for the witch doctor. He came at last and about two dozen of us watched the cure. The witch doctor had red feathers in his hair and the upper half of his face was painted black. He laid the body with its head to the east and as he placed it in position it showed some signs of life and began to twitch all over.

The doctor then stood several yards away to the south of the man. Walking slowly towards him and moving round to his head, he sang his first song. The man now became quite quiet and when he reached the head the doctor leaned over and placed a round mirror on his patient's chest. The mirror was in place of the bowl of water which doctors used in the old days.

The doctor now stood on the north side and began his second song, which he continued while making a complete circle around the patient, going west, south, east and back to north.

He then crouched over the man and sucked blood out of his chest, blew saliva into his ears and eyes, and stood up again ready to sing his third song as he made the same circuit again. Stopping once more at the north he looked into the mirror for a long time and then began singing again as he walked around for the fourth time.

The man was now cured. Although he was very weak he was able to sit up and after four days fasting he was quite well. After the fourth song the doctor spoke to the relatives and said that the man had stood near the house of a young woman. No one had known this but myself and I had not spoken to the doctor, yet he knew all that had happened. He saw it all in the mirror. In the old days the doctors used to fill a small bowl of water in which ground charcoal had been allowed to settle at the bottom. Because the man recovered they did not try to punish the girl. Only a witch doctor can bewitch a person and it is dangerous to interfere unless you are going to kill the bewitcher straight away. If the doctor fails to cure he will tell who did it and urge the relatives to kill the bewitcher.

For fear that he will direct his power against accusers the suspected sorcerer is not informed of his danger. Once a decision has been made the man selected for the task awaits a favorable opportunity when his victim is off guard, creeps up behind him, and kills him before he can resist.²¹⁵

It will be noticed that in this cure sucking was employed although the symptoms, from the native point of view, were those of soul loss. My informants claimed that any kind of sickness could be caused by bewitchment but most commonly an effort was made to drive out the victim's soul. They could not explain why the doctor had sucked in his cure unless the girl had poisoned him when she stared. Nail parings, hair, or clothes, they thought, were not used in witchcraft. Miguel was told by a witch doctor that he sent his spirit out over the universe to find the soul of the sick man which had been hidden by the sorcerer. It was the doctor's own soul, not that of the guardian spirit, that undertook the search.

CHARMS

Milder forms of sorcery were also practiced in which an effort was made to control the body or will of another. For this purpose charm substances were used. Manuel described the characteristics of to'ū'l haxnāk (charm sickness; etso'ū'l: charm). To influence others, the charm substance is generally smeared on the body by the charmer. A relatively stereotyped technique exists for its preparation.

An Indian goes into the hills to find charm stones; they are colored or transparent, but can be any shape. The stones must be ground up very fine into powder and mixed with red paint and, if possible, the intestines of some animal or bird. The lizard is very good. Men used this a great deal to weaken their enemies in fights and their competitors in races. The odor of the charm substance afflicts those who approach the charmer. In a race the runner with the most powerful charm goes ahead and the odor of his charm causes those behind to sweat and breathe with difficulty. Without knowing the cause they are tired out and get cramps. If the charm works for a long time it causes boils over the body, swellings filled with watery substance which itch badly. A man came to me not long ago who had been charmed like this. Before I worked on him I said that if I was successful in my cure the carrier of the charm would die. It is always like this, the power of the charm is driven back to its owner. The charm bearer did die soon after. Sometimes when a person has a powerful charm his relatives about the house die off in consequence.

²¹⁵ Cf. Trippel, 582, who also states: "The bewitcher generally goes off to a quiet place to make his spell. He draws an image of his victim and with a sharpened stick pierces the image where the heart is."

In the ordinary way charms (i.e., charm stones) are carried hidden about the body, but they are not so powerful this way. They will protect the wearer but it is hard to make another sick.

When curing charm sickness where there are sores like those I described, songs are not necessary. I froth saliva over my hands and massage the body from the head towards the feet.

Young men sometimes smear themselves with charm paint to attract women. For this they must also stop eating any fat, bread, or salt, then there is no danger of giving sickness. Girls get crazy for such a man. But if he lies with a girl he has charmed in this way he must not copulate for four nights or she will become very sick. After that the danger is over and he can copulate. Women also use charms in a similar way to attract men that they want.

kwats humu'k (crystal) is a common charm. Another that is very powerful is icima, a pebble that is found in the desert. If you look at it with an open mind you will see a face on it and as you stare this little face twitches and begins to laugh and smile. If you put it down and look at it from a little distance the face will move from side to side. It is the face of the animal spirit I have already told about.

SNAKE BITE CURES

The curing of snake bites is a special craft for which great power is needed. Snake doctors still practice among the Yuma but the two known to me refused all information. Miguel gave me an account of the dream recounted by the foremost snake doctor in announcing his power. He was also a witch doctor of some repute.

His snake power was obtained on the journey back from avikwame' (where he had learned witch doctoring). On this return journey he stopped at several places acquiring special powers. At one mountain to the east, near Phoenix, he was met by a spirit who was no different from a human being except that he had very abundant hair which hung down to his waist in great coils. This spirit said: "I have lived here alone for many years and I am glad to have your visit. For you I will go through the curing of snake bites." Close by there was a dying fire, a few embers glowed among the ashes. Around it were four bowls lying in the four directions. The water in the eastern bowl was bright red, in the northern it was clear, in the western yellow, and in the southern dark blue. The spirit pointed to the bowls and said: "You will always find one of these liquids in the body of a person bitten by snakes. If you find the red it means that immediately after the bite a witch doctor has seen an opportunity to make use of his powers, so that the victim has two sicknesses, snake poison and witchcraft, and both of them must be cured. If the water is clear there is little danger and you can give the patient water to drink. If the water is dark blue you will have to use all your power." [The doctor would not impart the full significance of the dark color (death in the Yuma symbolism) for the spirit had commanded this and the means of acquiring strength for the cure to remain secret.]

In curing snake bites the wound is stroked and jabbed with feathers or arrowweed tips specially prepared by the doctor. He sucks the wound and sings special songs. The doctor frequently

becomes very excited and a snake-bite cure is apparently considered something of an event.

Snake-bite cures have been known to be effected at a distance.

A few years ago a young girl was bitten and there was no doctor at hand. A man went down south of the line (i.e., across the Mexican border) to fetch a snake doctor who was living there. The doctor insisted on walking north to the reservation. He stopped frequently and watched the sky. During these halts he made power and sent it north to the sick girl. His spirit was with her all the time and when he finally reached her she was already out of danger and he effected a cure within half an hour.

RAINMAKERS

Rainmaking, as a practice involving supernatural power, was associated with curing. It was formerly a prerogative of the kwoxot, and an important indication of his power.

The Yuma formerly had powerful rainmakers. These doctors could prevent rainfall as easily as they could produce it; they also had power to control the direction and force of the wind. The last rainmaker died some years ago.

Joe Homer gave a general description of the methods employed which corroborated a more detailed account I later obtained from Miguel.

The last rainmaker we had was an old man who died in 1893. His name was siluθa'up and he belonged to the liōts kwestāmuts. There is no one left belonging to this line except perhaps one old woman. It was a very religious clan and its members had very powerful dreams. People said it was different from the other clans because in the old days it treated the dead in a different way. Instead of cremating, a special shelter was built. The dead man was put with his back against one of the center posts in a sitting position and the body was left there to rot.²¹⁶

I remember a time when there was no rain for two years and the flood was very low. There was very little overflow. Everybody got very worried and all the men got together. They decided to send for this old man who was living out to the west at the foot of the mesa. He sent a message telling them to place four bamboo tubes filled with tobacco in the middle of the big shelter where the meeting was held; to build a fire close by them and let it die away into embers.

When he came to the place hundreds of people had gathered around. He picked up the tubes one at a time and smoked them very quickly. He made a short speech, saying that it was the spirit Turtle (kupe't) that had given him the power on the mountain amyxape' (to the west of Pilot Knob). The spirit had shown him exactly what to do and had told him to think of the Turtle and name him when he performed the ritual. He commanded the people to follow him out of the shelter and run in a body towards the north, raising as much dust as possible. This they did and the old man went off home. Before he had gone very far there were patches of cloud all over the sky and rain had fallen in several places. In less than an hour a heavy downpour had begun which lasted about four days.

²¹⁶ No further information on this point, which is of considerable interest, could be obtained.

Joe Homer said that in the old days rain doctors as a rule caused rain for two special reasons: to confuse enemies when the Yumas were not ready to fight, and to enable them to grow some crops in the winter season. If no rain fell in December and January the rain-makers were asked to make rain. It would fall at intervals of a few days over a period of three or four weeks until the cottonwood and willow leaves began to sprout. Then the people could plant in the ground on the higher lands and have fresh supplies of food in the late spring. This was especially important if the harvest had been poor after the previous flood.

THE DOCTOR

The function of the doctor was to avert death and his technique was entirely magical. Manuel claimed that doctors never gave herbs to cure disease. Certain plants were used in cases of sickness but these usages were common knowledge and not alone sufficient to cure serious disorders. A doctor was not asked to cure unless the patient was so seriously ill that his life was threatened.

The doctor usually knew whether he could cure a sickness and was expected to tell the family of the patient. If he refused treatment without good reason he might be suspected of witchcraft. If successful the doctor was given presents such as blankets, horses, food, etc. If he failed he got nothing. The family would often promise the presents in advance when asking the doctor to cure, but he was not expected to bargain or ask for more. If the family was rich he would remain away until they offered a sufficiently large present.

During the cure he must fast and bathe at sunrise. He must not have intercourse with his wife and cannot cure while she is menstruating.

When working over a patient the doctor sits at his right side and points at the disease with the left hand.

A doctor does not lose his power as he grows old but he will stop curing when he can no longer endure the hardships of curing any more.

Foreign doctors are sometimes used but are not considered superior. Such are usually Kamya, Cocopa or Mohave and have the same dreams and power as Yuma. The Maricopa and the Yavapai use gourd rattles in curing, the Yuma do not (Miguel).

The equipment of the doctor is fundamentally non-material. A supernatural aura surrounds him and his songs, but he has practically no recourse to sleight-of-hand or other manipulatory skill in order to demonstrate his power. There is a surprising lack of apparatus.

Ghost doctors sometimes wear hawk feathers; all carry a pouch containing tobacco and cane tubes for smoking and in which feathers for brushing and charm stones were sometimes kept. But the inevitable crystal which represents the "pain" in northern California and among the Pima to the east is absent. The juggling tricks of the Pima are not resorted to, and would be considered improper. The doctor has received a divine power, an immaterial essence which flows into him from his guardian spirit and ultimately from the creator himself. His duty is to transfer this power to the patient or use it to bring back his soul; any jugglery or physical demonstration is superfluous and inappropriate.

Trippel claims that at the time he visited the Yuma a doctor who made three false predictions of his power to cure in one family, or nine in the tribe as a whole, was killed. "Upon passing the limit in either case he is visited by a male relative of one of the patients who asks why he prophesied incorrectly. If the explanation is not satisfactory he is quickly murdered with a mesquite club and nothing is said by the rest of the tribe."²¹⁷ So precise a regulation would seem unlikely. My informants said that a doctor was killed only when he was suspected of misusing or withholding his powers. A doctor would sometimes move away to another village or tribe to avoid the revenge of angered relatives. By now, however, the influence of American control has practically eliminated such killing and produced a tendency to minimize its former importance. The killing of failing doctors was general in the Lower Colorado region, to the west among the Yuman-speaking Diegueño, and very widely in California.²¹⁸

Doctors do not associate with one another, and form no societies.

In the old days there were doctors among all the groups of people [i.e. the different Yuma settlements], but each doctor was separate. Doctors did not go about or cure together. They did not meet together to discuss their powers. Once in a while they would mock each other saying that the other had no power, but generally they left each other alone. The doctors did not have any power to order people about and did not choose the leaders. (Manuel.)

Doctors do not speak of their powers in public because others might bewitch them for boasting. Sometimes two doctors quarrel and one challenges the other to bewitch him. They are left to fight it out themselves. (Miguel.)

The power of doctors is not inherited; each man must dream his own power. It is clear, however, that the children and relatives of doctors will tend, from their familiarity with "curing," to believe that they have power. Miguel, for example, said,

²¹⁷ Trippel, 571.

²¹⁸ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 718, 778, and Gifford, 7, who describes the killing of a doctor which occurred during his field work among the Cocopa.

—— who died two years ago, was a very famous doctor. Soon after he died his son said he had dreams like his father and saw the same spirit. The spirit had not given him as much power as his father. One of the dead doctor's brothers also said he had received power from the same spirit.

In this way, without any formulated concept of inheritance, curing power tends to continue in the same family for several generations.

THEORIES OF DISEASE

Theories of disease on the Lower Colorado thus include the concepts of intrusion and soul loss. Both are extremely widespread and doubtless ancient in both the Old World and the New. The concept of soul loss is dominant in northwestern America but is apparently absent or weak elsewhere, apart from one or two small areas in the greater southwest and among the Algonkians of the Great Lakes. The extensive development and elaboration of this disease theory in north-eastern Asia suggests that its occurrence on the Colorado represents an outpost of an early movement from Asia. But soul loss as a theory of disease occurs widely in South America, in the Guianas generally, among the Carib, and among such tribes as the Bakaili and Paressi in Central Brazil. It is also reported for the remote Yahgan in Patagonia.²¹⁹ It would therefore seem to be less recent in North America than has been supposed,²²⁰ and its occurrence on the Lower Colorado may be extremely ancient and unconnected with relatively recent developments to the north. The theory of intrusion of a pathogenic object is as important as soul loss, and is nominally associated with the sucking technique in curing. Object intrusion, probably universally known in aboriginal North America and the dominant theory outside the northwest and Mexico, was the prime cause of disease among the peoples surrounding the Lower Colorado on all sides, Shoshoneans, Pimans, and Pueblo groups; but the intrusion among the Yuma was of an aberrant type, which appears to have been colored by their intense belief in dream power. The object, as has been shown, has none of the characteristics of the usual material object. No splinter of wood or bone, nor crystal, is produced. The belief is that an unspecified poison has been consumed under the almost hypnotic influence of a malevolent spirit. The food itself in which the poison was contained was appetizing and harmless, and is not removed or shown by the doctor at the cure. It is a poisonous essence, only vaguely material, which lies at the root of the disease. The doctor

²¹⁹ Data summarized in Clements.

²²⁰ Cf. Lowie, 1, 177 ff.

affects to suck out the blood that has been poisoned in this way and so relieve the victim.

Witchcraft or sorcery, the production of sickness by another human being with the aid of magic or spirits, is believed in and guarded against. But it appears rather as a final appeal after other views have failed and it is usually the doctor himself who is suspected. On the evidence available, imitative rather than contagious magic is used and the effect, contrary to the probabilities of the magical procedure, is to produce soul loss and not the intrusion of a harmful substance. Here again the psychological matrix appears to have controlled the individual characteristics of the concept.

It is to be observed that any elaborate sorcery of the type of the Aztecs and other Central American peoples is absent.

The infringement of taboos, in connection with birth, menstruation, ceremonial, and warfare, is believed to cause sickness, sometimes to the culprit but in other cases to his relatives or neighbors.

Although spirits play an extremely important part in the esoteric life of these peoples and possession may sometimes occur, the belief that spirit possession will cause sickness appears to be entirely foreign. This is true of California as a whole, and the concept is rare throughout western North America.

DREAM VISION

The dream vision among the Yuma and the other Lower Colorado peoples is functionally similar and doubtless genetically related to the vision of the Plains and the east. Conceptually, if not terminologically, there is a clear distinction between the power-bestowing dream, or dream vision, and the less significant dream of everyday life. Some forms of the latter may approach the dream vision in a supernatural character, they may be omens indicating success or warning of danger²²¹ or informing about some remote happenings. An ill-defined spirit may indeed be associated with such dreams. But the true dream vision derives from Kumastamxo or from one of the ancestral spirits. It is an experience of tremendous significance, which at the same time conforms to a definite pattern. It usually involves a journey to the scene of the creation, or to one of the mountains which was visited by Kukumat or Kumastamxo. As in a vision, audition and the receipt of songs play a considerable part. The dreamer holds converse with

²²¹ Cf. Gifford, 6, 60 ff.

a spirit and is taught definite songs.²²² While the evidence does not permit of so sharp a distinction as that between dream and vision, which Benedict claims as general in North America,²²³ there is in practice little difficulty in differentiating between the two. And indeed the power-conferring dream among the Yuma and Mohave approximates to the vision and cannot be considered a dream in Benedict's sense.²²⁴

In marked contrast with the belief so widespread in the Plains area, the Woodlands, and the southeast, waking visions, hallucinations, and fits were not media for supernatural power. If a man had a fit he was suffering from soul loss or bewitchment, if he heard voices as he went about his work he would fall sick, for his dead relatives were speaking to him. The powerful spirits did not work in this way; they came only during sleep when the soul was free to accompany them to their mountain home to receive power and songs.

But the dream vision in the Lower Colorado region is not induced, as was the custom in western North America and Siberia with the vision. It is often claimed to have occurred before the dreamer left his mother's womb. Manuel dreamed as a young child. Stephen's dreams occurred unexpectedly during sleep. Although fasting and seclusion are practiced, they are, as among the Pueblos, regarded strictly as means of obtaining purity. The doctor indeed fasts during his cure, but his object is to refine and purify his personality. The appearance of his guardian spirit during the treatment is not directly conditioned by such observances.

The dream vision is not, as so widely in North America, associated with puberty, and the puberty rite has no association with the acquisition of supernatural power.

Jimsonweed, although known, was not used in obtaining supernatural power and appears to have had therapeutic and utilitarian, rather than supernatural, value. While it was perhaps occasionally used to induce dreams, such a procedure was undoubtedly irregular. It was not an ancient or integral part of the dream complex.

The guardian spirit concept is fundamental to dreamed power. Power is acquired only on the bestowal by an individual spirit who remains jealously interested in its use, may withdraw it or augment it, and will reappear to assist the doctor or speaker in the performance of his duties.

²²² Cf. Benedict, 2, 23 ff.

²²³ Benedict, 2, 26.

²²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 26.

There are also guardian spirits of a minor character who confer no power but ward off danger and come to one's assistance in time of great need. They do not manifest themselves in a definite dream vision. One slowly becomes aware that they are there protecting after they have appeared or spoken several times. Such spirits are the fortunate acquisition of the ordinary man; they are not accompanied by any remarkable psychic experience and are usually only voices, associated in the native mind with the ordinary dream and not at all with personal acquisition of supernatural power. The character of the power-giving spirits is somewhat vague and variable. While they are believed, in general, to be those of the first ancestors of mankind who have a vaguely conceived relation to animals and bear animal names, it is also found that the spirits of doctors may be devoid of animal associations and are named after abstract qualities. Although these spirits dwell permanently on *evikwame'*, or one of the other mythically important mountains, they are never confused with the mountain itself or any other natural object. Whether or not of animal origin and name, the spirit is always conceived as having existed since the beginning of time when Kukumat first made living creatures with the mud fished from the ocean floor, and their power is attributed to the great spiritual strength with which the creator endowed the first men.

The dream vision of a speaker is in pattern similar to that of the doctor. Joe Homer is a funeral orator, *keruk* speaker and singer, and a self-appointed repository of true doctrine. His prestige has waned in recent years and there has been some criticism of his "crazy notions" and obstinacy, but so long as he has the moral strength to support his claims to power, involving as it does the delicate adjustment of both aboriginal and Methodist orthodoxy, no attempt is made to undermine his authority.

Joe was unwilling to give a straightforward account of his dreams and power, alleging previous misrepresentations of his statement by others. His dependence on help from the Mission, and the curious blend of craftiness and apprehension in his character which lead him to place a fantastic value on his knowledge, resulted in frequent suppression and temporary withholding of information. It appears, however, that he believes his dreaming to have begun before birth.²²⁵ The dreams, which are the sanctions of his power as an authority on ritual and as a religious teacher, were, as Kroeber found among the

²²⁵ Cf. Harrington, 326.

Mohave, supernatural in two dimensions. Not only did he visit *avikwame'*, but he had at the same time retraced all time so that the original *keruk* was in progress when he reached there. He was instructed by *yalāk* (Goose), one of the ancestral spirits who participated. Joe now performs the functions of *yalāk* in the mourning ceremony and speaks of himself as Goose when describing the ritual. The dreams in which he learned to perform these duties were distinct from those which endowed him with power as a funeral orator.

HERBAL REMEDIES

Manuel stated that doctors never gave herbs to cure the diseases. Many plants were known to be valuable in alleviating various sicknesses, but such usages were common knowledge. Old women would advise various remedies to their families, but Manuel had a doctor's scorn for such practices which "were not alone sufficient to cure any serious disorder." An infusion of mesquite leaves was frequently taken in cases of gonorrhea; this relieved painful micturition, but only a doctor could cure. An interesting herbal test was made for severe coughing when blood was spat up (tuberculosis of the lung?). Portions of the root of an old willow tree were boiled and the liquid drunk by the patient, who vomited violently. This was regarded as a kill or cure expedient, since if the disease were in an advanced stage the patient would vomit blood and drop dead. If this was done early enough, however, it was believed to dislodge the infecting blood and lay the foundation of a cure. This, however, said Manuel, was a very risky thing to do.

An old woman, Hipa Norton, supplied further data on practical remedies. For stomach pains she used a decoction of *icū*, a desert plant described as leafless and growing to a height of about three feet. The stalks are boiled in water, large quantities of which are drunk. It causes flatulence and belching, rapidly alleviating the pains.

A strong emetic and purge was obtained from the roots of another desert plant, *wemocir*. The root is chewed in the mouth and the juice swallowed. The patient should eat nothing for a day and later take only weak corn or bean mush. It causes headache and dizziness followed by sickness and frequent defæcation. Although the patient may feel very miserable for a day or two, this treatment will alleviate stomach trouble of long standing. This is also regarded as an efficacious method of bringing about menstruation.

SWEAT BATHS

A kind of vapor bath is prepared to ease rheumatic complaints. A large fire is prepared on a stretch of smooth sandy ground, the coals of the fire are later scraped away, water is sprinkled on the hot sand and a bed of greasewood leaves (avse) is laid over it. The patient is placed naked on this bed and covered with heavy blankets. For the best effect he should remain all night. This treatment was learned from the Diegueño.

In winter a sweat cure for similar complaints was effected by overheating one of the winter houses. A large fire is built in the house. As it dies down all openings are sealed and the patient stays within.

Lincoln Johnson also knew of the sweat bath in the winter house; but claimed that it was not for the sick alone. It was used by anyone who felt dirty and wanted to feel fresh.

The true sweat-house is not used by the Yuma, and the treatments here described had no ritualistic associations.

JIMSONWEED

Jimsonweed, probably *Datura discolor*, is known as eemarkapit (ear stopped up) on account of the buzzing it produces. Loco weed is the English term usually employed. Miguel could not remember anyone having taken it in the last twenty years. Joe had seen it given but had not taken it himself. It was not used ceremonially and was not associated with the acquisition of dream power. It was sometimes taken by those who wished to become doctors or leaders, but this was infrequent and, according to my informants, of doubtful value. The emphasis is rather on the direct acquisition of practical skill or foresight through the narcotic than on its use as a means of inducing dreams. Miguel knew of no doctor who had actually received his curing power in dreams received while under the influence of jimsonweed. The ostensible reasons given were to acquire skill and worldly wisdom, and to foresee one's fate. The activities of the patient while under the influence of the narcotic indicated their natural propensities. Women did not take it save in exceptional cases, e.g., of sickness. Older men would persuade the younger that it was an exciting experience and would prove of value to them. According to Joe Homer, jimsonweed was especially valuable as a means of obtaining

good crops. During the narcosis the youths were set to work clearing ground and pretending to plant. Their antics amused the onlookers but gave them great skill as cultivators.²²⁶

Groups of young men, who had decided or been persuaded to take it, put themselves in the hands of a man who could administer it safely. As among the Mohave, the leaves of the plant are used. These are in suitable condition in the late fall and winter and should be taken from plants which grow far from human habitations; only those leaves on the north side of plants should be picked. The concoction should be prepared by one who has abstained from sexual intercourse for a considerable period, and women should be kept away. The juice of the leaves is squeezed into a bowl of warm water and each patient is given a suitable quantity.

Miguel's father was one of a group of six who took jimsonweed in their youth. It was administered by a witch doctor who told them he could impart his powers to them when they were under the influence of the drug. The youths fasted for four days, drinking only a little water. The drug was then administered in the early morning under a shade. For several hours they were unconscious. When they regained consciousness in the afternoon several of them recounted dreams and began to act strangely. Some were bombastic, others went through the forms of curing people. The doctor remained with them for four days, fearing that they would wander off and attempt to drown themselves, or lie in the sun and become ill. They did not acquire any power.

It might be taken several times during one's life, whenever, in fact, one desired it. The sick often drank jimsonweed, especially when they had been ailing for a long time and had obtained no relief from doctors. Miguel knew an old woman who took it in this way at the suggestion of her relative. She remained in a trance for four days and went about acting as though she were cooking food. When she got better she said everything had seemed dark to her except dangerous things such as rattlesnakes and ants. These were all around her but they had the appearance of fire, so that she was able to avoid them. Jimsonweed was not used as an anaesthetic or anodyne.

It was sometimes used to stimulate horses in racing. The rider would chew the leaves and blow the frothed saliva into the horse's nostrils about an hour before the race.

²²⁶ Cf. Gifford, 6, 68.

Jimsonweed seeds are used as a remedy for burns and sores. They are roasted and made into a poultice which is placed on the wound.

It was not regarded as a direct aid in magical power. It was not taken by doctors to strengthen their power or enable them to see the patient's disease. Lost objects were not sought in dreams induced by the weed. No reference to it occurs in any myth, and, according to my informants, there is "no story about it."

The use of jimsonweed remains unattached to the ceremonial or spiritual life, a curious and valuable experience, but little more. The use of the narcotic, which extends from Peru and Chile to the Great Basin is especially developed in south and central California and the southwest. But the Yuma and similar Cocopa practices cannot be aligned simply with any one of the three specializations that occur in this region, i.e., among the Yokuts, the Southern Californian Shoshoneans, and the Pueblos.²²⁷ The general pattern, i.e., the obtaining of good fortune and foreseeing the future, is present but certain features which are generally characteristic are absent. The dissociation from divination of disease or loss of objects distinguishes it from Pueblo and Yokuts usage. At a relatively recent date the jimsonweed, doubtless known and used before, was introduced into a sib initiation rite for males among the Southern Californians. Some traces of the pattern developed there are apparent on the Colorado in the restriction to males, except for sickness and the group drinking with exclusion of women.

CREMATION RITES

As throughout the Lower Colorado and among the Diegueño, Luiseño, etc., to the west, the Yuma cremate their dead after a day of mourning.

All relatives, friends, and well-wishers of the deceased are invited and expected to attend the cremation. Anza records vividly that:²²⁸

While I was engaged in the distribution (of presents) an Indian naked like all the rest came groaning so pitifully that it seemed he was suffering the greatest affliction and grief. He gave these groans to each person touching him on the shoulder, and so he went among them all. I asked what this man was suffering from for in truth he won my compassion, and they replied "Nothing"; that he was from one of the villages down the river; that he brought news that his father had died, and accordingly he had come to invite all those present to go and weep while they were burning the body of the deceased, which was the kind of funeral they customarily held.

²²⁷ Gayton.

²²⁸ Anza, in Bolton, 4, 2:46.

Both Yuma and Cocopa funerals occurred during my visit in 1928 and certain variations in procedure were noticed. The Yuma consider it necessary to cremate before sundown on the day of the decease.²²⁹ They dig a shallow pit beneath the funeral pyre in which the ashes and unconsumed bones are collected and buried. The Cocopa burn at dawn after a night of waiting and collect the ashes for removal from the site of cremation.

The Yuma funeral was that of an old woman. She died in the early hours of the morning. Relatives and friends had surrounded her during the night, mourning her expected end. After the death the body was immediately prepared and messengers were sent out to arrange for the cremation. The body was fully dressed, wrapped in a large number of blankets, and carried in a farm cart to the cremation ground. No further mourning took place during this period and the rites were not considered to have begun until the relatives, friends, and the orator had assembled at the site of cremation. It was formerly the custom to burn the body near the house of the dead person and to fire the house itself after the ceremony. This practice has now been abandoned and a cremation ground with a permanent mourning shelter has been set aside on the reservation (pl. 56*a*).

Mourning began at about 10:30 A.M. Joe Homer was chief speaker, recounting the qualities of the dead woman, the severity of the loss, and the need for courage. The body lay on the ground wrapped in its blankets on a frame of wooden poles. A nucleus of close relatives remained crouched and kneeling by it throughout. They wailed incessantly. Others joining in the mourning for short periods came and went during the day. The wailing is inarticulate and does not consist of words or phrases. It is a musical crying on two or three notes, resembling the keening of Irish wakes, punctuated by bursts of sobbing and loud cries in periods of more intense emotion. The atmosphere induced hysteria in all present. Small groups would approach nonchalantly, smoking cigarettes, and chatting. Within a few minutes of the entry into the mourning groups they would be wailing loudly, with tears streaming down their faces. Similarly others would leave the shelter for a while, investigate the condition of the pyre, talk casually, and return to wail again after this respite.

The speaker's voice could be heard above the wailing in short staccato phrases. He mingled fragments of mythology with the

²²⁹ Putnam, who observed a cremation about 1895, reports, however, that the burning took place before dawn, at about 2:30 A.M. after the moon had risen, 266.

condolences and exhortation. Several other older men also joined in and the relatives of the deceased paid formal thanks to mourners before they left the shelter. The visitor in leaving would place his hand on the shoulder of the bereaved saying:

I'll have to go back home now. I'm sorry because you are sad. You can't help it, we are all sad at these times. But you will feel better soon. Meantime there is nothing to do. There is no place you can go to take away your sadness. But remember you are not the only one, we all lose our relatives. That is how the plan has always been.

And the other would reply:

Yes, all right. I'm glad you came over and told me all these things, because it makes me feel better. This death has made me different in my heart. I feel as if I will have to go off and die in some place. But now I won't have to go off because I understand what you tell me.²³⁰

This ceremonial speaking which is used in funeral orations, *keruk* speeches, and doctors' exhortations to their patients is very remarkable and impressive.²³¹ It is also used by the Mohave and Cocopa. A loud mandatory tone is employed, but each word or group of short words is separated by a pause of one or two seconds from the next. Each word is forced out in an artificial manner with a rising tone and is accompanied by a jerk of the body as though the speaker would raise himself higher. The impression is almost that of a stammerer endeavoring to dictate at a distance. The accented syllables rise almost to a shout but the rest of the word is clipped and blurred. Significant and allusive words are repeated and recur in a long series of phrases. The normal word order is frequently inverted. Words and incomplete phrases stand for entire sentences, which render translation difficult. The discourse breaks off as abruptly as it begins.

A funeral speech obtained later from Steven Kelly is given at the end of this section.

²³⁰ Paraphrases given later by Joe Homer. At the cremation witnessed by Putnam, a medicine man worked over the body presumably in an effort to restore life: "For nearly two hours the medicine man went through various rites. He inhaled the smoke of a cigarette and blew it into the mouth, eyes, nose, and ears of the corpse, and occasionally blew it up toward the stars. He rubbed and pressed the body and now and then straddled grotesquely up and down over it. He finally sang with a clear voice a rude incantation, a repetition of a few short sentences. As his effort ceased one of those from Algodon began to speak and continued for many minutes in a calm, dignified and most pleasing tone." 266.

²³¹ Cf. La Oyuela in Bolton, 2, 2:211: "I saw a thing very worthy of pondering over in a people so ignorant, that after Father (Kino) preached to them one of their Captains continued warning them with such force and energy that it seems that the Lord must have given him words to enable him to speak so long for he harangued them for the space of two hours, a thing difficult even for a great preacher. Afterwards another took up the thread and continued in the other language. In this manner day dawned upon them; and the next night it was the same."

During the wailing a small group of men prepared the pyre about a hundred yards from the shelter. They dug a shallow pit about six feet long and two feet wide. On this they placed a bed of dried arrowweed and three large logs, seven feet long and about a foot in diameter. Two other logs of the same length were mounted on each side along the outer edges of this floor, supported by stakes driven into the ground. Arrowweed and other brushwood were placed in the open trough so formed, and a wall of dried twigs was neatly arranged around the outside²³² (fig. 9).

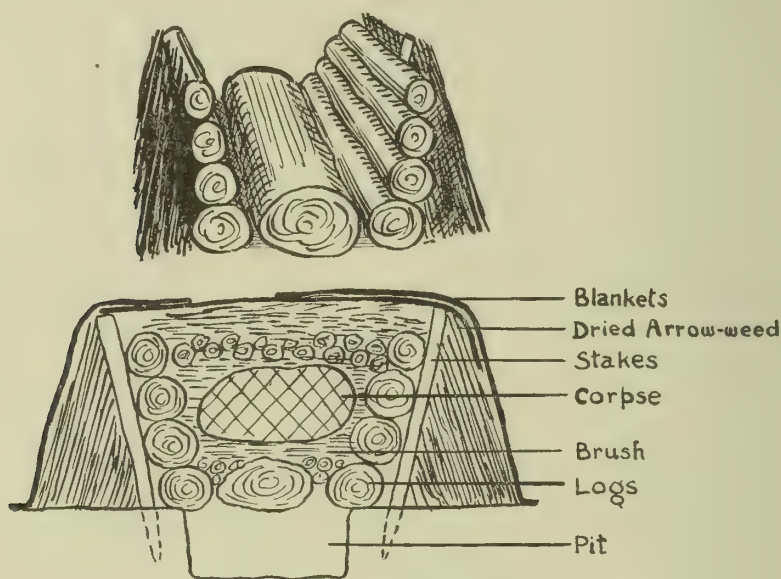


Fig. 9. Cremation pyre.

In the late afternoon a procession was formed. Led by the speaker, the body was borne slowly towards the pyre in four stages. At each halt the speaker raised his voice in a brief repetition of his previous eulogies and condolences. The fourth and final halt brought them to the pyre. The body was laid in the trough formed by the logs and covered with brush. Large numbers of colored blankets belonging

²³² Trippel, 582, describes the pyre constructed at the cremation of Miguel somewhat differently: The pit was V-shaped, 3 feet wide, 3 feet deep and 7 feet long, "dry poles were arranged along the sides slanting upwards and outwards. Between them a bed of inflammable twigs and brush was heaped to the surface and covered a larger frame of wood built up horizontally for an additional foot or two. Upon this the body, tightly wrapped in a heavy canvas, was laid and short thick pieces of wood arranged upon it until a total height of 7 feet was attained. To the pyre was added the personal effects of the deceased to accompany his spirit wherever it might go."

to the deceased were then draped over the pyre concealing the logs and giving it the appearance of a large, gaily decorated stand. The pyre builders fired the brushwood with long torches made of mesquite poles tufted with twigs and the whole rapidly burst into flame.

For a period there was a renewed outburst of loud wailing among the mourners who formed a close ring around the pyre. The increasing heat soon forced them to withdraw but the more distraught would run forward thrusting a hand momentarily into the flames.

The greater part of the mourners now drifted away in small groups. But the closer relatives remained with the pyre builders to tend the fire. A daughter of the dead woman was roused to a frenzy as the flames consumed the body. She walked around and around the pyre, stopping at each corner calling loudly on the dead person.

By sundown the fire had burned quite low, the larger pieces of charred wood were moved to one side and the rest shoveled into the pit and covered with loose earth.

In former times the house and belongings of a dead person were all burned. His favorite horses were killed and buried, others were given away and his fields were left untilled. No relative could use his land but a stranger could cultivate it after a full season had elapsed. Eixarch²³³ was informed "that these Indians practice other ceremonies such as burning their dead until they are reduced to ashes and burning their treasures, breaking their jugs, and deserting their homes and their fields even though they have many crops."

At the cremation of Pasqual, the last great leader, the procedure was relatively elaborate:²³⁴

Two splendid horses, gaudily caparisoned in red and blue flannel and waving feathers were led to deep holes dug near either side of the body. After being killed with axes they were disemboweled, thrown into the graves and covered with dirt to insure their carrying the good old chief in his future wanderings.

Several young men strangely dressed in curious cloaks and cowls of many colors and holding bows and arrows in their hands stepped forward. Grasping Pasqual's gun, a much prized treasure by the way, one of them fired it into the air. . . . instantly another applied the match, and tongues of fire darted heavenward; enveloping the remains in a shroud of seething, spluttering fire. . . .

Breaking from the ranks [the crowd] threw their most valued possessions into the flames. Strips of calico, pottery, weapons, sacks of flour and mesquite beans, playing cards, beads, and trinkets of every description followed each other in rapid succession. Several men and women denuded themselves of their clothing piece by piece until they stood naked to the breech cloth. A daughter of the dead man carrying a child in her arms walked around the fire, and holding a bundle of arrowweeds to the blaze, touched the infant's cheek, to prevent the deceased

²³³ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 4:337.

²³⁴ Trippel, 582-583.

from haunting it. A tall brave nearly nude and provided with a sharp knife, cut off more or less hair from the relatives in accordance with the degree of kinsmanship, each softly muttering incantations. The medicine-men with their hair pulled over their faces, tore a large cotton cloth into small fragments and made another pile of the pieces which they burned. In fact, every individual seemed actuated with entirely different motives, known only to himself.

FUNERAL SPEECH

pī'ipa'ts! / axō't venyū'va' iwa'mvats / axō't īnya' uđi' etsuvi'ts /
People! good strong heart our good day all work

ecū'pō viya' ađō'tk etsura'v /
I know it goes does sickness

ađa'u īma't / axa'v apa'm nyūdī'k / tsūdu'ts sūmđi /
I take my body inside I lie down on the bed what is done don't know

vāda'ts ađō'tk ađu'kyə nyāđū'm /
this does here make(?) nothing

enpīpa' / iwa'mvats ela'i xe'e'tem /
all people heart our not good will(?) change

enya'vats vāye'mtok / ađu'kya vāye'm /
day this passing away here passing

venya'ađa'uk / etselyāđū'ts axō't / elyā'em va'ađa'u ađu'kya /
we are together now will we think good think we now here

venya'mađa'u^k /
we are together now

vāda'ts a'e'tkyā i'kya pī'pa vāta'i yetsa'nalyam va'e'm /
This I say it(?) man big we lose him passes

iwa'tsky mala'i va'ađa'u^s / nyani' makī'n elyāđū'ts mats /
hearts not good we now this thing nobody must think about

enyamā'k nya'vāđi' / enyamā'k axō't /
I will end right now I will end good.

elyāđū'ts va'ađa'u ađu'kya venya'ađa'm
we think we now here all together now

pī'ipa' / 'enyaxō't 'enyavi'kwam / etselyāđū'ts /
People when(?) good this day going we are thinking here

xelkwa'k etselma'k xelkwa'k axot /
I will find our strength(?) I will find good

kwađō'nik īma't ela'im / ipa'm venya'vikum nya'va ađu's /
it used to be my body not good when I lay down on that I rely

elyāđū'ts elai iwam' xakəi'm / ađa'us nya'va /
we think not good hearts will change I rely on that

enyamā'k etsoxo't elyāđū'ts taxa' /
I will end good things we think right.

Translation

Oh, people! Our hearts are good and strong. We can work all day
This sickness does go away, I know it.
I myself go away alone in the house, I lie down on the bed and forget every-
thing, all this fades away,
All the sick hearts of our people will change.
This day is passing away now,
We are all together now, we will think well now that we are all together in
this place.
I tell you when we lose a strong man our hearts cannot be good,
So are we now but we must not think about it,
We must think about our being all together,
I will finish now. I will finish well.
We think about our being all together,
People, it will be well. This day is going
We commune with one another.
I will find our strength. I will find our good.
My body was not good when I lay down alone.(?)
On that I rely.
Our thoughts are sick but our hearts will change.
I rely on that.
I will finish. Rightly we are thinking good things.

My interpreter had difficulty in translating and found even the general sense obscure. Normal word order is changed. Words are omitted and others repeated to produce the rhythm of the speech. They are sometimes abbreviated, sometimes expanded by the addition of consonants to increase the staccato of the speech. The pauses are indicated by a stroke.

Thinking in the sense of this speech refers to an introspective process whereby the individual restores his sick heart and overcomes his sense of loss. The heart is not said to be bad, which would mean evil, but not good, i.e., sick. Steve declares his power to overcome grief and urges the people to do the same by taking comfort in their solidarity and in the passage of time.

THE KERUK OR MOURNING CEREMONY²³⁵

The mourning ceremony of the Yuma is intended to perpetuate a ritual taught to the first men after the death of the creator, Kukumat. It is however admitted that several omissions and changes have occurred with the passage of time and the meanings and original character of some elements are disputed; but for the greater part the differences between the original ritual and the present ceremony are believed to be known. This, however, does not result in clear distinction in narration and informants tend constantly to refer to the activities of the existing rite in terms of the original. The Yuma, in other words, does not clearly distinguish between the mythological foundation and the existing ceremonial and it was at first a matter of some difficulty to analyze and compare the two. In order to demonstrate the essentially mimetic character of the ceremonial, the mythological and actual rituals will be separately discussed so that both the simplifications and accretions of the present ceremony may be clearly understood. It is impossible to say how far the mythological account has been modified or colored by external accretions or by alterations in ceremonial usage in course of time, i.e., the myth basis cannot be assumed to have remained entirely unaltered and to that extent it is not justifiable to assume that all ritual elements that coincide with the mythological account are for that reason "original" or even old. The historically verifiable example of the introduction of death images does, however, confirm the belief that the mythology has tended to remain more stable than the ritual.

THE MYTH OF THE FIRST KERUK

The Yuma were originally created together with the Cocopa, Maricopa, Kamya, and Mohave on the sacred mountain Avikwame' by the god Kukumat.²³⁶ After the death of Kukumat, occasioned by the theft and swallowing of his excrement by his offended daughter Frog, his body was cremated and his house burned. Kumastamxo, the divine son of the creator, sat silently by while the people talked sadly of their loss. There were among these early people many who were spirits, pipa'tuats (lit. "people who have come to an end").

²³⁵ Joe Homer, Manuel Thomas, and Patrick Miguel.

²³⁶ See p. 176.

These spirits were agents of the creator. They had animal forms and gave their names to the animals so that all later peoples should keep them in mind. They live now in the various mountains and appear to men in visions to give them power. The spirits spoke among one another and to Kumastamxo suggesting that they should mourn for the death of Kukumat. But Kumastamxo lay silently by for many days. Finally the spirits asked Kumastamxo to aid them in holding a ceremony in which they would remember Kukumat and recover their strength. Kumastamxo at last arose and spoke: "I knew that you would have to sing and pray after the death of my father, the creator, for he has entrusted me to continue his work and I know all things. Unless you do this thing you will sicken with the illness of Kukumat. But I have waited until you received the power to have the ceremony." Kumastamxo was really the creator of the ceremony but he did not tell anyone what to do; the spirits now knew how it was to be conducted without instructions, for this knowledge flowed into them.

For a whole day the people mourned in a shelter while certain spirits went away to gather the things to be used in the ceremony. On the second day many bonnets and feathered staves and headdresses were made. All this was done without any explanations for Kumastamxo had given the people his power. The earth was still muddy and soft so máxwa' (Badger) came forward and chose a place for the ceremony which he made level and hard. Then xartsumpu'k (Ant) brought up sand from below the surface and spread it over the ground. On this heltō't (Spider) drew plans with his web, for he was the architect of the house in which the ceremony was to be held. Now four men who were Snake people (pamavi'ts) came forward to erect four posts. They placed across them two cross beams and four rafters. To the Snake people Kumastamxo said: "Your people (descendants) will have the power to build memorial houses. You must build them aright always and look after the ceremony; so will the people recover their strength after there has been death and they have lost a leader." Now Kumastamxo brought down a cloud from the north to make the roof of the house; but when he stood back to look at it he saw that it was white and represented life and the memorial house was to be the house of death and this cloud would not do. So he made it vanish, and drew down a cloud from the east but this was blue and represented power; this again he did not want and made it disappear. He next tried a cloud from the west but

it was yellow and represented sickness and this too he caused to vanish. Lastly he called down a southern cloud; this was dark and meant death. This, he said, was right for the ceremony. (Further questioning of Miguel and Manuel indicated that this directional and color symbolism is generally recognized: north, white (light), life; east, blue, power; west, yellow, sickness; south, black (dark), death. This differs from the Diegueño scheme as given by Waterman: north, red; east, white; west, black; south, blue-green.²³⁷)

Kumastamxo now called all the people together and spoke to them.

I am giving you my power that you may have this ceremony. What happens now you will do for all time. You are to think of me always when you have a ceremony and call on my name. When something comes into your mind then you will know it is my spirit. When you have lost your relatives, as I have lost my father, I too will be sad and will be mourning with you. You must fast for four days at these times or you will die off.

Kumastamxo now told ets'o'hr (Hawk), who was strong in war, to gather together the people with their weapons and command them to run from the house to the east back and forth four times. This they did and Kumastamxo spoke again: "You are fine people but you cannot get along without me. This is my speech. I can bring any kind of cloud, any kind of storm. You cannot learn without me and I will show you my power." He commanded the people to run east again, but suddenly as they ran they were weak and tired and fell in their tracks. "I will wake you up, you fallen people," said Kumastamxo, and he made hail fall and sprinkle on them. Immediately they were strong again and ran back happily to the house. Again Kumastamxo said to them, "I have shown you my power, I can make you strong or weak. You people will never be tired when you go to war if you call on me and I am with you." Next he called forward yalāk (Goose), who was to speak for the people. He was not so great as ets'o'hr but ets'o'hr was silent and did not make speeches to hearten the people. yalāk said: "I have great power. I can bring storm and darkness to beat the enemy. I can bring sleep and blindness to beat the enemy. We are strong and can beat everybody."

Now mǎxwa' (Badger) came to yalāk and said:

I will give you my help. I burrow holes in the ground. I will tell you where my holes are but they will be concealed from your enemies. And when you are fighting against your enemies you will move safely over the ground for you will know where to avoid my holes. But your enemies will not know them. They will catch their feet in them as they run. They will fall and break their bones.

²³⁷ Waterman, 2, 333.

Then *heltō't* came up to *yalāk* and said: "I will lend help to the people. I will fly up into the air and find the enemies." Spider had four legs which stretched out over the four directions. He pulled down the four directions and said: "I am ready whenever the enemy comes. I shall know and will tell you."

akwa'keme nikūsīt (a flying insect) next promised his aid.

When you are out in the desert I will find water. I will be the scout of the war party and tell the position of the enemy. I will bring a windstorm and a rainstorm to hide your tracks so that the enemy may not find you and when it is dark I will tell you where lie the four directions. (J. H.)

Lastly *avē'* (Mouse) promised to cause paralysis among the enemies, by nibbling at their food and spreading poison about their camps.

During the night the oldest man was placed in the house by a fire which was lit in the center. He was to keep all the insects and animals out, especially *avē'* (Mouse), who caused sickness with his poisonous breath, and in the morning all the people moved into the ceremony house.

And during all these preparations a host of strangers had come up to *Avikwame'*.²³⁸ In the morning they came up to the house and were given regalia, bows and arrows, and clubs, from among the things that had been made. With these they now went away to the east. But soon they sent back a small party which halted outside the house. Their leader made a long speech to the people, telling of his homeland and how his people lived, saying that many of the younger ones had long been restless and wished to see distant places, until at last he had consented and brought them on a long journey.

The leader of the people in the house replied, telling of his people, saying that they too were restless, that he was glad of this visit of strangers. But when he spoke again the visiting leader began to talk of the bravery of his people; he told how warlike they were, named all their weapons, and described their use.

The leader in the house replied that he too had people who talked of war and had many powerful warriors and described the prowess of his people; and after the visitors had departed he warned his people that these strangers were only pretending to be friendly and that later they would attempt to destroy them.

²³⁸ Joe believes this party to have been present throughout and now for the first time separated from the others, as in the present *keruk*.

The strangers who had camped a long distance from the house now sent out two spies (avakwiō'm or mētro'ī'a) over the trail which they had traveled. When they returned one reported to the leader saying:

I was at my house when my partner came and said that for a long time we had not been out, that there might be an enemy band somewhere close. He thought it was a good time but I refused. The next day he came again and this time I agreed to go with him and we traveled all day and far into the night but saw no footprints. Towards morning we came to a lake where we stopped and rested. Knowing we were safe we ran all the way back.

The leader thereupon ordered his people to move forward and they went as far as the lake where they camped.

And again spies were sent out. This time two went on each side of the route to the east and although they were separated, each pair knew always what the other was doing. After traveling continuously for a day and a night they met at a spring where they rested and bathed. They had seen neither enemies nor their tracks and they now returned with all haste and reported to the leader, whereupon the whole band moved forward to the spring at which the spies had rested.

The four spies again set out as before but now for the first time they found traces of other men. They came upon a much traveled track and a recently abandoned camp. Their report was repeated to the band by the leader, who led them all to this abandoned camp.

For the fourth time the spies set out and after traveling as before for a day and a night without food or rest they came upon a great settlement. They were the people gathered together with Kumastamxo on avikwame'. The house was quiet, no weapons could be seen, and no watchers were posted. The spies returned to their leader with this news, saying that the village was easy to attack. So the party put on all their ornaments and paint, gathered their weapons, and approached cautiously until they were within a short distance of the camp. And so it was that on the fourth morning when all about the house were still sleeping, the enemy party fell upon them and killed great numbers. Kumastamxo watched all this, knowing exactly how all things were going to happen.

The survivors, who were the youngest and strongest, united together to defend themselves. Their leader went forward with a small party and called to the enemy: "You are cowards and mean men to attack us when we sleep. But we see you now and when the time comes that we have our strength we shall invade your country and revenge ourselves." When he retired he was followed by a small

party of the enemy who wished to drive them back to their camp and cried, "Run back to safety, for you dare not attack us, we have crushed you and you are powerless." But when the enemy party drew off the defenders again sallied out after them in greater numbers, and their leader cried after the enemy that he too had great power in war, that he would train his people well, so that soon they would crush the enemy cowards.

As they approached the enemy camp a party of these, larger than before, advanced to drive them back and threats were again exchanged as the defenders once more retreated. And this was done four times in all as everything must be. Each time greater numbers took part on each side and the threats were longer and more cruel and arrows were shot from side to side. The contest lasted throughout the day until sundown. Kumastamxo was glad that the people now knew of war, how to use their weapons, and fight against the enemy.

When it was dark the spirits knew it was time for them to sing for Kukumat. Coyote hātəlwe) claimed that he should lead the singing. Ignoring the many protests he rose to sing but such foolish wails came from his open mouth that he was driven out and nāmē' (Wildeat), who had the true power, led the singing, arranging the performers into groups just as they are at the present day. In the house were three rows of singers. Two rows were placed at the back of the house looking east and a third stood facing these. nāmē took his place in the center of the middle row while yalāk, the speaker, stood behind all the singers leaning on his staff. Holding a deerhoof rattle in his right hand, jerking it up and down vertically, the leader directed the singing. Another row of singers was stationed outside the house along the east side looking into the house. These were strangers.

The western group first sang a sad song, like the keruk songs today, a song to remember the death of the god Kukumat. yalāk, the speaker, now spoke. He told of Kukumat and his deeds and the same words are used today, "He is about to do; he is about to say" (i.e., Kukumat is creating the world and man), was how he began. yalāk also told that his staff was of great strength for Kukumat had plunged his hand into the ground and brought up the pole all ready made.

Then followed the singers on the east side of the ceremony house. Their song was entirely different; they told of long journeys like the awaxō'm singers today. With both parties each song was always

repeated a second time and the *keruk* songs, speeches, and *awaxō'm* songs continued in that order through the night, each party singing four times in all.

As the singing began a party of men went out to the east. Presently they returned with willows, grass (*kōpō*), and vines from the tepary bean plant. With these they began to make the circle (*akwēl*) which was to be used later.

The singing in the ceremony house was heard by the Heavenly Snake (*kūmai avēta* or *umai avēta*) and he approached this place where the people were gathered and stuck his head into the house, attempting to coil himself within. But it was too small and he asked that it be made larger at the west end. This was done by erecting five more posts, three at the back and one at each side and covering them as before. *kūmai avēta* curled into this space and stayed quiet some time; but he was not comfortable and at about midnight he asked that the house be made still larger by adding to the house on the north side.²³⁹ The people knew that the snake was an evil spirit but they knew also that if they could keep it in the house it would be destroyed. So they did as they were asked, erecting more poles. Early in the morning *kūmai avēta* asked that the south side be enlarged and towards dawn he asked that the east side be roofed over and this was done each time.

After each addition to the house two women came out and walking around (clockwise) from the north side stood at the corner of the part being built and then strewed unground corn over that part of the roof.

Other things were being done during the night. In the camp arrows were being made and each time an addition was made to the house, spies came across from the camp to report what was being done.

As the sun rose all the singers and people moved out of the house towards the east, making four halts. The first halt was at the eastern edge of the house and the succeeding ones each about fifteen yards farther east. At each halt songs were sung (by both parties). When the people were at the second halt the old man, who had camped all the time in the house, lit a torch from the fire and set fire to the building, which flared up. The Heavenly Snake coiled closer for it could not escape and avoid the heat. By the time the people had reached the fourth halt the heat of the fire was so great that the snake

²³⁹ Joe thought the north addition came first and west second.

burst open and was destroyed. The powers with which it was filled, the power to cause evil and death, to cure, to give songs, and many others, all these were scattered over the country and settled in the mountains, whence men obtain such powers to the present day.

While the people as a body were moving from the house, two men took down the two akwel from the eastern end of the roof and from their position behind the awaxo'm singers moved to the northeast corner of the house, holding the akwel aloft. Four spies from the camp approached them and as the bearers stood facing west the spies each shot an arrow into the akwēl, whereupon they immediately threw down their bows and ran off to the east. The bearers then carried the pierced rings across to the camp of the spies and burned them on an arrowweed pile.

The sun had now risen into the sky and it was full day. The ceremony was ended. The people were protected against evil, had received great power, and now began to scatter themselves over the earth.

KERUK RITUAL

Although the re-enactment of the Avikwame' ceremony is the primary object of the present keruk ritual, the occasion is also individualized as a memorial to persons recently dead. The relatives of these people are in general the prime movers in stimulating the ceremony leaders to forward the preparations and frequently bear a great part of the cost. This specific mourning function is closely associated with an innovation which occurred towards the end of last century. In about the year 1890 two Yuma, Jose Castro and Chappo Jackson, persuaded their fellows to adopt the Southern Diegueño (Mountain Kamya) practice of making death images.²⁴⁰ The Diegueño ceremony was well known to the Yuma for many of them traveled west to be present as guests when a Diegueño mourning was held. The innovators were good singers who had many times visited the Diegueño and greatly admired their dramatic image processions.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Joe suppressed this information and, until questioned later on, spoke as though the use of images was original to the ceremony; he afterwards claimed that the images were used in the original ceremony, but by the Diegueño and not the Yuma. Miguel, however, was quite definite in his account of the avikwame' myth, that although the Kamya were present at that time and were spiritually closer to the Yuma than all the other people, yet the ancestral spirits of the Yuma knew nothing of image-making. A ritual was, indeed, given to the Kamya for their strengthening and preservation but it was hidden from the Yuma.

²⁴¹ Cf. Davies, who mentions that Yuma had come across the desert to be present at the Northern Diegueño keruk, which he describes.

A rudimentary image cult existed among the Yuma previous to their borrowing from the Diegueño, for it was formerly the custom to paint the faces of dead leaders and singers on the front center posts of the keruk house. These faces were, as are those of the Diegueño and the present Yuma images, identifiable by means of tattoo and face paint designs used by the dead man. As a rule two, and never more than four, such faces were painted on the posts but only the most eminent were eligible for this honor. The face of such a man was painted on one of the posts at each of four successive keruks, unless the number of other deaths crowded it out before the full obsequies had been completed. Bundles of clothes suitable for the deceased were tied to the post beneath the face and were later burned in position during the general conflagration, so that they might be carried in the flames to the departed for his use in the spirit world. The ceremonial feather war bonnets, when not in use, were also tied to the post behind these painted faces.

This practice, whether it be a rudimentary or degraded image cult, doubtless facilitated the introduction of the Diegueño custom with its elaborate images carried in dance processions. In appearance, function, and usage the present Yuma images closely parallel those of the Diegueño and it will be seen that the element of personal mourning is associated with the images. My informants were all agreed, however, that the use of images had not fundamentally changed the character or purpose of the ceremony, and that mourning by relatives for their deceased was always a dominant element.²⁴²

Joe claimed that a mourning ceremony was held whenever the people felt that they should "get feeling better" and more particularly when the bereaved wished to mourn their lost relatives. For the past twenty years it has been the practice to have the keruk ceremony in the early fall, generally in the middle of September. Miguel claimed that this was always considered the best time because

²⁴² Trippel, in what appears to be an eyewitness account of a keruk some time previous to 1889, refers to a use of images, which are however distinct from those made at present and are said to have been carried in procession during the daytime: "An imposing feature is the formation of opposite lines of Indians who in the daytime march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images . . . fixed upon poles and carried in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking backwards cast handfuls of corn upon the images . . ." (Trippel, 8.) No mention of the manufacture of clay images for this or other purposes was obtained from my informants. The Mohave, however, formerly made rough images about two feet long—oval slabs of baked clay in which crude incisions indicated the parts of the body. These are frequently attached to a miniature cradle and are described as dolls (San Diego Museum). Kroeber (Mohave Field Notes, MS) does not, however, mention any use of images in the Mohave mourning ceremony.

food and particularly corn was abundant. Others believed that agency pressure and the needs of modern farming were responsible for limiting the mourning ceremony to an annual performance at a fixed time. Joe, who had directed the keruk ritual for many years, said that in the old days when the people were more free and materials less costly, a keruk would be held within a few months of the death of an important person. The eminence of the deceased not only conditioned the ceremonial in so far as high social position was likely to be accompanied by a large number of prosperous relatives and friends willing and able to supply the labor and goods necessary for the ritual, but also in the greater sense of spiritual loss experienced after such a death. The keruk was not formerly an annual ceremony, nor was it associated with any time of year. Sometimes it might be held twice in a year, or again not for several years. When one family had proposed a keruk for its deceased member, others which had recently suffered similar loss would offer to cooperate in labor and supplies, and those who were learned in ceremonial lore or skilled in the manufacture of the ceremonial objects were pricked into activity by flattery and hospitality.²⁴³

How far this description by Joe Homer, which assigns an important rôle to the bereaved as instigators of the ceremony, relates to the period since the introduction of images, could not be determined. Manuel and Miguel agreed that the recently bereaved would be the most active, since they were in greatest need of the strength obtained by the ceremony.

These opinions have been reported at length in order to establish the fact that despite its present fixed date, the Yuma do not consider the keruk as a ceremonial which must be performed at a particular season in each year. A lack of conscious formulation of procedure and a curious absence of defined functions for the various leaders and groups is characteristic of the culture as a whole, so that this vagueness as to the time and preparation for the keruk is in harmony with the general anarchy of Yuma organization.

I observed and participated in the keruk in September, 1929. Lack of money and personnel have led to the curtailment and modification of several minor features, but the Yuma are very conscious

²⁴³ The keruk was being held "during full moon and in the autumn" but was conditional on adequate supplies. "If it happens that scarcity of provisions prevents them from holding the 'grand cry' to which surrounding tribes are invited, they defer until a more prosperous season when supplies are ample. Though delayed for months after the proper time, it is never neglected." (Trippel, 8.)

of any such imperfections and my informants were careful to call attention to any departure from traditional practices.

The preparatory labor and ceremonial activities of the keruk are shared among a large number of the older men who are accustomed to perform these tasks and play the same rôles each year. It was noticed that mourning families, images of whose relatives would

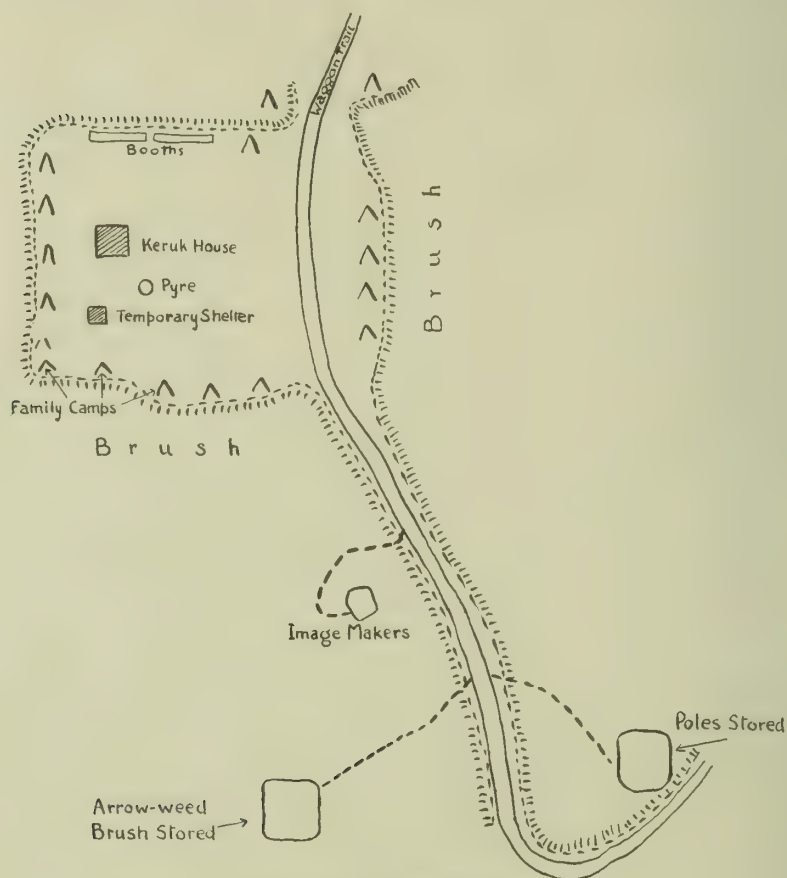


Fig. 10. The keruk ground.

appear in the ceremony, took no active part in the work or ceremonial other than the preparation of the clothes for the images. It was explained that such persons were so affected by their grief and would be so completely occupied in mourning over the images that they would be unable to participate in the ritual.

The keruk is held in a large clearing in the dense brush that flanks the Colorado river. This clearing, about 250 yards square, is sur-

rounded on all sides by temporary shelters of cottonwood boughs in which the active participants make temporary camp during the time of the *keruk* (fig. 10).

These participants and the relatives of the mourned are expected to fast during the period of the ceremony and for four days preceding.²⁴⁴ This fast is actually interpreted only as a restriction to a light diet of corn mush. Meat and salt are especially to be avoided.

The *keruk* is a four-day ceremony, but the activities of the first three days are largely preparatory, while the collection of material for the ceremonial objects begins still earlier before the ceremony proper.

Two old men, regarded as speakers or leaders of the *keruk*, make speeches at frequent intervals throughout the entire period. Before any work is undertaken, such as the building of the shelters or preparation of the ceremonial objects, a speech is made by one or both of these leaders and by any other man who wishes. These speeches are characteristic Yuma exhortations delivered in the labored, staccato style typical of the Lower Colorado peoples. They are mixed in content, referring to the event next to follow and the parallel incident in the *avikwame'* myth, and to the spiritual benefits to be expected from the *keruk*, in which supplications to *Kumastamxo* are introduced.²⁴⁵ The speakers did not actually initiate or control any of the procedure and are regarded as leaders, not in virtue of any organizing capacity, but because they have dream power and can obtain the benefits of *Kumastamxo* by their intercessions.

In the morning of the first day a temporary shelter—*ava'aḍḍta*—is erected in the southwest corner of the ground. This is intended to house the mourners and ceremony leaders during the preliminary mourning and the preparation of clothes and ceremonial objects. A square roofing of arrowweed thatch is supported by cottonwood poles. There are three poles on each side with one center post. Each side measures about ten paces. The east side is considered the front of the shelter. In front, the supporting poles are six feet tall, but those at the rear are barely three feet high so that the roofing slopes back to the rear (pl. 56*b*).

The afternoon is spent in singing and dancing. No mourning songs are sung, for this occasion is rather one for jollification. The relatives of the mourned may dance for the last time. Mohave, Cocopa, and

²⁴⁴ This was formerly expected of the entire people (P. M.).

²⁴⁵ The speakers in 1929 were Joe Homer and John Cachora.

other singers are often called upon to perform. This singing may be regarded as either a gladsome overture or as a leave-taking of happy times. Joe described it as a "little good time." Gourd rattles, characteristic of feast songs, are used. The psychological effect is clearly that of deepening by contrast the gloom which is to follow.

The party breaks up in the early afternoon and the serious business of preparing the ceremonial equipment and the clothes for the images does not begin until sundown. The ceremonial objects are prepared by a small group of men who have individual reputations for skill in making the various objects. Some of this equipment is completed as soon as possible, but other objects, such as the feather sticks and ceremonial shields, may not be assembled until the fourth day. For these all the materials are prepared, wrapped up in bundles, and stored in the temporary shelter until the appropriate time. The equipment for the ritual combat is made first and occupies the workers until dawn throughout the first night. Feather headdresses, hoods, black and red warriors' shirts, bows and arrows, and war clubs all have to be made.²⁴⁶

The feather headdress or war bonnet, *helkwī*, is constructed on a netting foundation which fits close to the head and is tied under the chin. For this netting willow bark twine was formerly used. A tall dense tuft of short turkey and chaparral cock feathers is attached to the crown. Surrounding these and arranged to radiate horizontally, four layers of long plumes are attached. These layers are alternately of eagle and hawk plumes.

Both before and throughout this work speeches are made by the two *keruk* leaders, asking *Kumastamxo* to send his power from the north and relating parts of the *avikwame'* myth. These speeches cause loud wailing among the bereaved families who are preparing clothes for the images at the same time.

When toward dawn the first night's work is complete, two women bearing small sacks (formerly shallow basketry trays) of unground corn move forward and scatter the ceremonial objects with corn. This scattering of corn confers power and is performed systematically by the same two women throughout the ceremony.

The bereaved families, who are preparing clothes for the images, return to the shelter early in the morning and continue their work;

²⁴⁶ This applies most strictly to the headdresses; the other materials are usually prepared some time before and held in readiness, only the finishing touches, i.e., beadwork on the shirts, feathering of arrows, etc., being done at this time.

others wander in and words or gestures of condolence lead to renewed wailing which recurs at intervals during the morning.

Toward noon, on this occasion, an elaborate welcome was given to visitors from other tribes. A group of Mohave had arrived that morning. They were relatives of a Mohave who lived for many years among the Yuma and falling sick returned north a few months ago to die shortly after. His relatives had been particularly invited and brought clothes that an image might be made for him. The keruk speaker and the Mohave men exchanged speeches which referred to the stage of preparation, the close affection of the two peoples for each other, and the loss of so many people in recent days. One woman overcome with grief interrupted the speeches with a shrill cry of grief, others joined her in wailing and the shelter was soon filled with mourners standing close together, or moving from one to another, placing their hands on each others' heads and shoulders as a sign of sympathy, all crying loudly or moaning.

The wailing subsided after about half an hour and speeches were resumed. Cocopa and Kamyá visitors were next welcomed and made lengthy replies. Later in the afternoon one of the Mohave men took down a gourd rattle from the crossbeams and started a Mohave song, in which others joined standing in a close circle and stamping the feet. A group of Yuma, stimulated by the Mohave, began to sing the new lightning song (*hura'v*). Such procedure is entirely unorthodox and would not have been tolerated in former times, but "secular" songs are now sung by small groups intermittently throughout the keruk.

The preparation of clothes and ceremonial material is resumed in the evening and proceeds as before, punctuated with outbursts of wailing and speeches by the keruk leaders and others.

The morning of the third day is occupied in bringing in the poles and brush with which the keruk house is to be constructed. The house is called *kerū'ū'kva* (keruk shelter) or *ava'lāxān* (good shelter). Formerly two parties of warriors, each led by a speaker, set out at dawn from the temporary shelter. One band going south secured the poles, the other going north collected the brushwood. Both groups were expected to return and meet at midday at a selected spot some little distance from the temporary shelter. They would then return in procession, carrying their burdens to the site of the keruk house, amid the greetings and wailings of the people.

This procedure is now curtailed and schematized. The necessary poles and brushwood are cut before the ceremony and deposited at two sites a few hundred yards from the keruk ground (fig. 10).

In the morning, after long speeches by the leaders which are followed by prolonged wailing, a procession is formed which crosses the keruk ground in the direction of the poles and stacks of brush. This procession is headed by the two leaders. Behind them follow four men in ceremonial warriors' costumes. Two wear feather head-dresses, black shirts, and black face-paint, the others have red shirts and hoods.²⁴⁷ All four carry bows and quivers and gourd water bottles. A group of some thirty men form the main body who are to carry in the poles and brush. All these should wear the red hoods and jackets, but lacking them they merely stick a few feathers in their hair. Four women, each carrying a sack of corn, bring up the rear. These throw corn forward, scattering it over the procession as it advances.

Going a few hundred yards to the east, the procession divides. One speaker, with half the party, turns north to the clearing in which the poles are collected. While the leader makes a speech the poles are cut down to the correct lengths required for the keruk house and two of the women scatter corn over the workers and the poles. The other party, moving south, reaches the dried brushwood which is tied in great bundles. It is similarly sprinkled with corn by the other two women, during speeches by the leader.

Before noon the two groups return, joining in a single procession, carrying their loads over to the site selected for the keruk house on the northwest side of the ground.

The building of the house begins in the early afternoon. The roof beams are first laid on the ground in the positions they will occupy in the finished structure. This affords a plan of the structure and indicates the position for the post holes. These post holes are dug with knives and sticks (pl. 56c). Picks or shovels may not be used. Before the insertion of each pole corn is sprinkled in the hole by the two corn women. The center posts are erected first but the house is built complete, i.e., the successive additions of the mythological account are all erected at one time. The front center section of the roof is flat and about six feet high, but the back portion tilts sharply down the rear where the upright posts are only three feet high. With the dried brushwood a dense thatch about one and a half feet thick

²⁴⁷ Trippel, 8, refers to "red cowl-like caps elaborately feathered and beaded."

is laid over further light poles on the roof frame and this completes the structure (pl. 57a).

In the evening, when the keruk house is finished, the leaders make long speeches recalling the solemnity of the occasion and the great benefits to be derived.

We shall all be better people, stronger to whip the enemy, living long in good health. We shall have everything new for our keruk. The house is now ready and all is well. Tomorrow we shall sing the songs and strengthen ourselves.²⁴⁸

A small fire is now built between the two eastern center posts at which an old man is seated. He tends the fire and must not leave the shelter until the ceremony is ended. When the singing begins on the fourth evening, the fire is moved back to the far western end of the shelter, where the old man remains guarding it throughout the night. In the morning, during the last procession, his fire is moved forward to the east and from it the torches are ignited with which to burn the shelter and the images. All informants insisted that this was very important and that the man must be very old. Unfortunately the old man who had performed this function in recent years, died a short while ago and no one suitable could be persuaded to undertake the task, so the practice was not observed on this occasion.

During the same day the image makers begin their work. They have a shelter in the brush a short distance from the keruk ground. Here the frames of the images are prepared in readiness for the clothes that will be brought in the evening.

When the Yuma first adopted the Diegueño practice, they constructed their images of reed in the Diegueño manner, but since an adequate supply cannot always be obtained, they now make them entirely of wood. The head and trunk are roughly carved from a length of cottonwood pole from four to six inches in diameter.²⁴⁹ Crosspieces are attached to give breadth at the shoulders and thighs and long thin poles are fixed in position to form the legs (fig. 11). A small wedge-shaped piece of wood is tacked to the face to form the nose and a piece of white cloth is drawn tightly around the head. On this the face is painted. The relatives give precise instructions as to the face paintings to be used. Tattoo marks are shown in black; women's face paints are in red; men's should be black, but a variety

²⁴⁸ A paraphrase given by J. H. He would give only the gist of the speeches and refused to repeat the Yuma versions.

²⁴⁹ Store-bought timber is also used.

of dark colors, black, brown, and purple were used, according to the whim of the image maker, the black of whose crayon box was soon exhausted (fig. 12). Horsehair was used for the wigs which are formed by suspending the horsehair from a string which encircles the crown of the head, while the crown itself is covered by a thick coil of hair, a technique identical with the Diegueño.

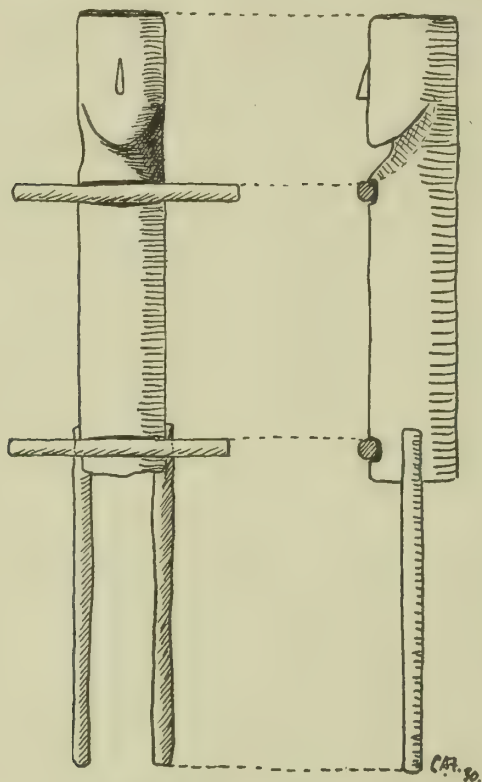


Fig. 11. Image frame

The frames are completed in the afternoon and clothes are fetched from the temporary shelter as needed during the night. The task of dressing the images and of painting the faces occupies the greater part of the night, for everything is done with the greatest care. The greater part of the clothing is bought from the stores and is complete to the last details of garters and armbands. The images are indeed far better dressed than a living Yuma. In addition to the store clothes the male images are all decorated with numerous strings of blue and white beads and have one or two hawk and chaparral cock feathers in the hair and a headband of colored cloth. The female

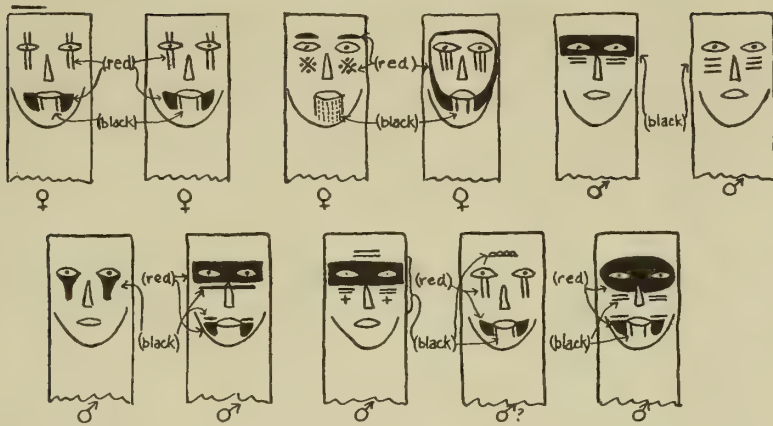


Fig. 12. Face paints and tattoo markings on image heads, keruk of 1929.

images all have elaborate bead collars, which are worn by Yuma and Mohave women on festive occasions. These collars are very elaborate and are valued from ten to twenty dollars apiece, for their making occupies several weeks (fig. 13).

The fourth and last day is the period of the ceremony proper. The activities continue for twenty-four hours—from dawn to dawn with very little intermission. Before leaving the temporary shelter in the morning the female mourners daub their hair with close, horizontal streaks of white paint.

A ceremonial entry into the keruk house takes place early in the morning. The speakers, followed closely by warriors in headdresses and hoods lead the people from the temporary shelter. The corn women follow at the rear scattering corn forwards over the procession. The party halts four times on the way, while a speech is made by one of the speakers. These are followed by loud wailing. When the party, which consists mainly of mourners, has moved into the house the ceremonial gear is collected and carried over. Red calico is draped around the front and sides of the roof and a



Fig. 13. Female image.

Stars and Stripes, presented to the tribe some time ago, is hoisted on a mast fixed to the center front housepost. The mourners crowd into the front of the house awaiting the arrival of the images. The rear is kept clear and here a small group sets to work preparing the feathered staves (*a'okwīl*) and feather bunches (*kū'ū'l*).

Two *a'okwīl* are made. The feathers are first bound in pairs to a cotton streamer of the same color. The streamers are then closely bound to a light staff, four feet long, pointed at both ends, so that the feathers and streamers hang down in a dense fringe which ends six inches from either tip of the staff. For one feather stave, black crow feathers and crepe are used; for the other, white crane feathers and strips of white calico (fig. 14). The two *kū'ū'l* are made with hawk feathers. These are also tied in pairs but each to a short separate arrowweed stick about nine inches long. A dozen or so of these light twigs are tied together in a bunch to form each *kū'ū'l*.

When the preparations are complete, word is sent to the image makers who now emerge from the brush, walking slowly in single file, each bearing an image before him. They form a line facing the *keruk* house at the far eastern end of the ground. The warriors go out and stand with them, the hooded men in the middle of the row, those with feather bonnets at either end. Loud wailing and cries come from the shelter and the image-bearers themselves cry bitterly, but there are no speeches. After a long pause the image-bearers advance toward the *keruk* house and halt again, a few yards in front of it. The *keruk* singers²⁵⁰ have in the meantime taken up their position in the front of the house. The *keruk* leader makes four long rattles with his deer-hoof rattle and they begin a *keruk* song. The images are jerked upwards and swung to the left in time with the slow beats of the deer-hoof rattle. As the song continues the image-bearers back away from the shelter and slowly wheel round towards the north. The *keruk* singers follow closely, behind them crowd the mourners, and at the rear follow the corn women. In this way a complete circuit of the shelter is made, the image-bearers moving backward and the singers advancing with them. At the northwest and southwest corners of the house and on the return to the point of starting halts are made and a new song begun.

The images are then carried into the house and leaned against a horizontal bar placed waist-high against the front pair of center posts.

²⁵⁰ There were, on this occasion, a leader and about a dozen *keruk* singers, but the number is not fixed or strictly limited. The number increased to twenty for the night singing.

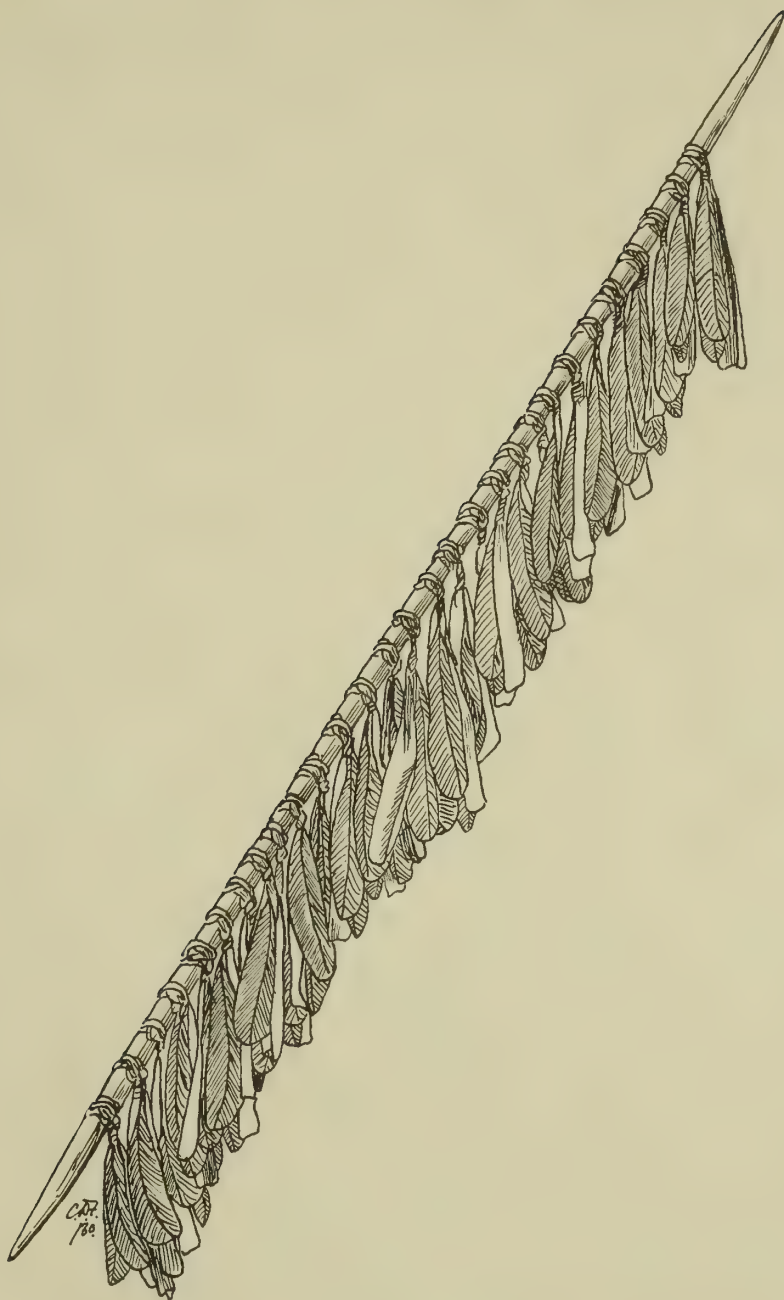


Fig. 14. Feathered staff, 4 feet long. Each pair of feathers is sheathed with a strip of similarly colored calico whose other end is bound around the staff.

The bereaved now approach the images for the first time. Each family clusters around its own image, embracing it, placing their hands on it and on each others' shoulders. The images are then draped in red cloths. Wailing continues indefinitely and the keruk leaders make further speeches. The crowd thins out after a while but the bereaved do not leave their images untended. Throughout the ceremony one at least of each family stays with its image, crying over it, and talking to it.

In the early afternoon preparations are made for the ritual battle. One of the speakers recounts the myth of the battle on avikwame'. During his speech the two corn women make a circuit of the house. Starting together on the east side they proceed in opposite directions, scattering corn over the roof of the shelter from each of the four cardinal points. A group of about forty men and women, headed by one of the speakers, now marches out eastward to the far end of the ground, followed by the corn women who sprinkle them as they go. They carry the feathered staves with them. Setting these up in the ground about two hundred yards from the shelter, they squat in a group facing east (pl. 57*b*).

At even distances between their "camp" and the shelter three slender arrowweed stakes are stuck in the ground. These represent the springs at which the attacking party will halt.

Immediately in front of the keruk house a bundle of meskwe reeds is placed on the ground to represent the sleeping leader of the defenders. The bundle is covered with a white cloth. At its head (the east end) a bow and arrows are stuck upright in the ground. At its south side lies a basketry tray.²⁵¹ Four horses are led onto the ground and are taken charge of by the costumed warriors. In addition to these warriors—two with feather bonnets and black costumes and two with red hoods and jackets—two others are distinctively dressed. These are the chiefs Hawk and Road-runner. They are barelegged. Road-runner wears a white shirt and his face and legs are smeared with white paint, while Hawk is similarly attired but in black with black body paint. The shirts are concessions to new found modesty, for warriors formerly went naked, smeared from head to foot with paint. Both wear red hoods and carry only short clubs as weapons. They squat immediately behind the feathered staves, which are stuck in the ground. Four scouts are also attached to the party. These wear black belts of woven yarn with red tassels. Their

²⁵¹ Now of Pima manufacture.

faces are blackened and a few hawk feathers are pinned in the hair. Each carries a bow, a quiver of arrows, and a gourd bottle. Another man assumes the function of scalper. He is dressed in white but carries no weapons save a long knife stuck in a woven belt similar to those of the scouts.

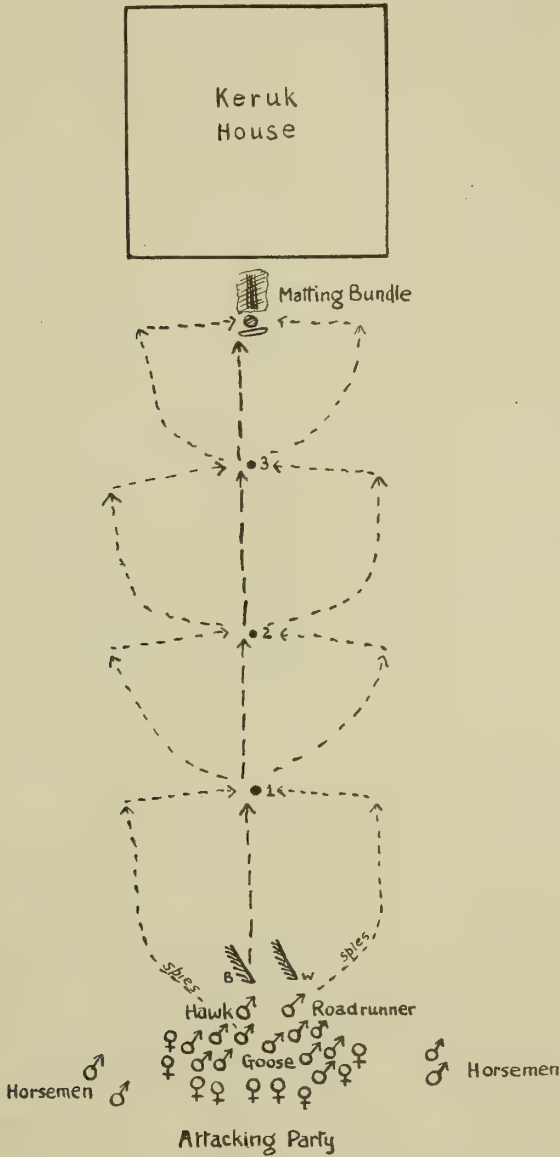


Fig. 15. The mimic attack.

The scene is now set for the battle which proceeds slowly and with many pauses throughout the afternoon (fig. 15).

Gathering his party around him, Goose (yalāk), the speaker of the attackers, proceeds to tell them the story of Badger, who burrowed holes in the earth so as to trip up the enemy and injure them. During this speech two of the scouts, affecting great caution, creep out in a half-circle to the first stake. Finding no trace of the enemy they return to the "camp" where they report their journey. Goose replies to them and the entire band moves forward to the first stake. Here Goose again exhorts his people, recounting now the promise of Spider (heltō't) to help the Yuma in battle by stretching his legs out over the four cardinal points to locate the position of the enemy. Four spies then set out. They proceed in pairs by a flanking movement to the northwest and southeast to take up positions level with the second stake on the southern and northern sides of the ground. From these positions they creep in, one at a time alternately from each side, to explore the ground around the stake, then return to their stations. When all four have done this they return in pairs as they came and report that no trace of the enemy has been seen and the whole band moves up to the second stake. Here Goose again exhorts his people, telling them of the promise of the insect akwa'kame nikūsī't, that he would help them as a scout, find water holes for them in the desert, and bring storms to hide their tracks. The four scouts set out once more. They proceed in the same manner as before to reconnoitre around the third stake. They return to announce that they have found the remains of an enemy camp that has been but recently deserted. The fires are scarcely cold and the enemy can be at no great distance away to the west. At this point the horsemen on the west side, together with half the rank and file of the band, move off and take up their stand on the west side of the keruk house. They have ceased to belong to the attacking party and will shortly act as their opponents.

The remainder then advance to the third stake where Goose reminds them of the promise of Mouse (avē'), who would paralyze their enemies with poison. The spies are sent out as before and investigate the bundle which lies in front of the house. The bundle at first represents the entire enemy band. They return to report that the enemy are sleeping, that no guards are posted, and the time is ripe for an attack. Hawk and Road-runner, bearing their a'okwil and brandishing clubs, now lead an advance to the bundle. As they

approach it, a man and a woman rush out from the keruk house. The man snatches up the bow and arrows, the woman the basket; with these they run back into the house with loud cries. The attacking party crowds around the bundle, trampling the ground as they move in a slow circle. They point their drawn bows at it while Hawk strikes it with his club. Returning to Goose and the rest of the party they announce their victory, that the enemy leader is killed, and that a remnant of the defeated have run off to the south. Road-runner claims the feat of slaying the enemy war chief. Hawk interrupts angrily that it was he who slew the enemy leader and an altercation follows. The dispute is settled by Goose in a mocking reference to Road-runner's qualities. He is bold in camp but hides behind others in a fight. Goose himself now advances to the bundle accompanied by the scalper and a few warriors. He superintends the scalping. The scalper kicks and feels the body of the dead chief, drags it around by the feet in a small circle, turns it over, and pretends to scalp it. He then takes off the covering sheet which is treated as though it were a scalp; it is held up while the others gather around in a close circle. He then throws the "scalp" four times in the air. At each throw the party utters a growling cry which, growing louder, at the fourth time becomes a loud roar.

The defeated now become active. The group which moved over to the south side of the keruk house represent this remnant. These move out to the reed bundle and one of their number calls to the attackers. Hawk and a small party advance within a few feet of them and an altercation follows:

We did not know you people were coming against us. We were asleep in peace. You are great cowards to creep up on us and kill our leader as we sleep.

Hawk. Well, my friend, we called you to fight but you sleep always as lazy ones do. Now you had best keep quiet and hide yourselves in the brush, for we have great power and could whip you all with no trouble. We do not wish to slay you all but take care lest you enrage us.

Reply. We should never need to hide from such feeble people as you. I am the most powerful of leaders, my dreams are stronger than those of all other men.

This dialogue has no set form and is in essence a series of extempore speeches embodying all the characteristic phrases, arrogant and vituperative, of Yuma war challenges. These challenges pass to and fro four times. After each declamation the speaker steps forward a few paces closely followed by his supporters, ululates loudly, and at the same time scuffs dirt in the face of his adversaries. Hawk finally declares: "Very well, my poor creatures, we must teach you

our strength. We will whip you hard and scalp your chief men." Whereupon the attackers advance and the combat begins.

The two parties now line up in front of the keruk house. Two archers form the vanguard of each party, behind them stand two warriors armed only with clubs, those of the attacking party (Hawk and Road-runner) carrying the feathered staves. The rest of each party, who should bring the total number up to sixteen, forms a relatively unorganized group in the rear while the horsemen, one with feather bonnet and one in a red hood and jacket, flank each party on either side.

The defenders retreat slowly in a body as the attackers advance and are "chased" as a group clockwise around the shelter, i.e., south, west, and north, while battle cries are raised on both sides. After returning to the east side, the parties re-form facing each other, the attackers facing east. A series of four movements from east to west and back now follows, indicating successive advances and retreats of the defenders. Light arrows are thrown into the air and staccato yells give some semblance of struggle but no actual combat takes place. It might have been expected that the participants would, in their excitement, have launched into a more realistic struggle. This, however, must not occur; the ritualism of the movement is very consciously realized and it would be improper to indulge in any playful tussling.

After the fourth movement both parties collect in a single group in front of the shelter and mingle with the mourners and onlookers. Two of the archers and the two warriors, Hawk and Road-runner, now step forward. The two archers, closely pursued by the warriors with their clubs, run rapidly eastward to the far end of the ground. As they run they look back over their shoulders at their pursuers and with a rapid twist of the body swing their bows around pretending to shoot their pursuers. At the far end the archers double back without pause and return to the shelter, pursued in the same manner. This movement is repeated a second time, completing the four movements necessary for every ceremonial act.

The four horsemen next ride forward and perform the same movements in which the red jacketed carry bows, while those with feather bonnets pursue them. These pursuits end the combat. The contestants disband, remove their costumes, and a period of rest and rearrangement follows.

By sundown the next stage of the drama is prepared, the performers being now grouped into opposing parties of *keruk* and *awaxōm* singers. The *keruk* singers, about twenty in number, stand or squat in three rows in the western half of the shelter. One row extends between the center posts, the other two face them squatting under the low pitched roof at the rear of the shelter. The leader occupies the central position in the middle row. He uses a deerhoof rattle to mark the time of the songs and ends each one with the flourish of the rattle. To announce a song he rattles the deerhoofs sharply and utters a high pitched cry. The others have no rattles and wear no costume. When standing, the singers bend their knees at each beat of the rattle. The *keruk* songs are all very slow and dirge-like, with three beats of the rattle per minute. The individual songs last from five to eight minutes after which there is a short two-minute pause. Four songs are sung in this manner. A longer rest follows during which the *awaxom* singers should perform.

The *keruk savada*²⁵² is a long cycle devoted entirely to the *avikwame'* myth, to the death of *Kukumat*, and to the sufferings of mankind. The songs are in archaic language which is said to be unintelligible without previous explanation, so that the singers are prepared by the *keruk* leader and other older men for the performance, in rehearsals which take place in some secluded spot before the ceremony.

The *awaxōm* singers, eight in number, stand in a single line in front of the shelter, facing it. Each singer has a short willow wand with a short strip of white cloth about a foot long tied at one end. This wand is held horizontally against the body in both hands, the arms hanging straight down in front of the body. The *awaxōm* songs have a much faster tempo and are accompanied by a shuffling movement by which the singers slowly move laterally, to and fro, across the front of the house.

The songs of the two parties should alternate, but there was little attempt to secure this and, indeed, the crowd of mourners and on-lookers which thronged wailing around the images and throughout the shelter and the unorthodox singing of the Mohave visitors, made the singing of either group indistinguishable at a few feet, so that both parties could and did sing independently, inaudible to each other (fig. 17a).

In the northeast and southeast corners of the shelter two groups of three men began to make the two ceremonial shields (*akwē'l*)

²⁵² Texts are given on p. 245.

(fig. 16). These are large cloth-covered discs, 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, bordered by an encircling bundle of grasses from 4 to 6 inches in diameter and decorated by long strips of white cloth which hang in a fringe. The materials have already been prepared during

the earlier nights. Two slender willow rods are now bent and bound into a ring which is strengthened with cross-pieces of arrowweed. Two staves, 4 feet in length, are bound parallel across each ring. These project only a few inches on one side, while on the other they form a pair of handles over a foot long which serve to manipulate the shield. Two pieces of white sheeting, cut to size, are bound on either face of each ring. Bundles of Bermuda(?) grass (kopo) are arranged to fit around the circumference and are tied in position and ornamented along the upper half with streamers of white calico. Joe said that formerly the shield was covered with buckskin, the grass bundle was tied in position with cord of shredded bean vines, and feathers were used for the fringe.

During the preparation of the shields a small fire is made some fifty yards to the south-east of the shelter. This represents an enemy camp which is spying on the proceedings in the keruk house. Here four men attire themselves; two

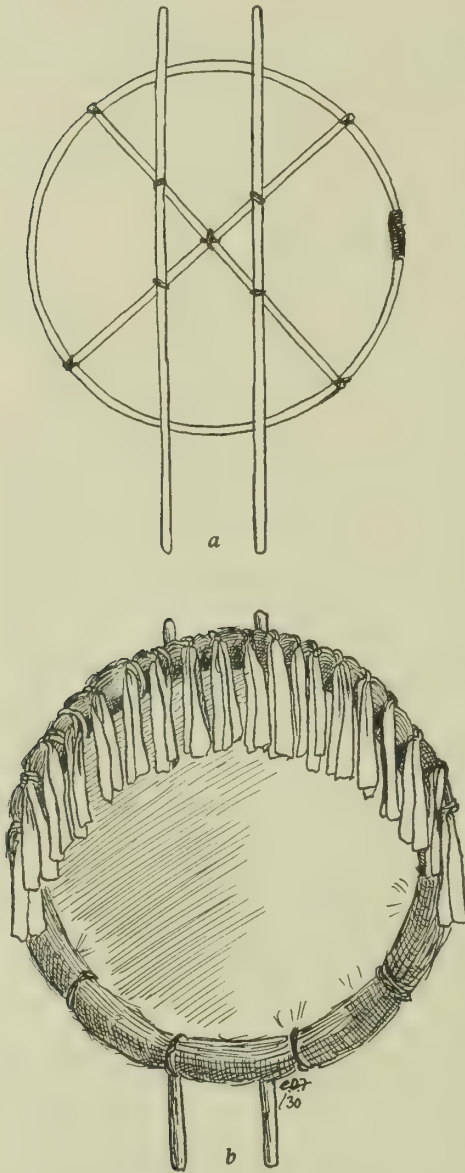


Fig. 16. Ceremonial shield. a, frame; b, completed.

When the shields are completed, the images are taken up by bearers, and arranged in two flanking lines, facing inward along the front portions of the southern and northern walls of the shelter. The keruk singers take up the positions vacated by the images. Two men take down the feather bunches (kū'ūl) and each, holding a bunch in his hand, stands a few paces in front of the singers. A few paces in front of these, two of the shield makers kneel facing the singers, holding the shields before them.

The four archers from the campfire steal in, affecting great caution, and with drawn bows kneel in pairs behind the shield bearers just outside the shelter. When all are in position the keruk leader gives the sharp cry which announces the beginning of a song. For the first song there is little movement. The singers sway slowly and bend their knees. The two dancers with feather bunches shift their weight from one foot to the other and swing the feather bunches from side to side, holding them down at arm's length. The image and shield bearers sway slowly from side to side (fig. 17*b*).

With the second song movement is more vigorous; the singers bend their knees jerkily, raising and lowering their bodies. The dancers swing their feather bunches over the left shoulder with the right hand, rapidly transfer the feathers to the left hand and swing them over the right shoulder, repeating this movement in time with the slow rhythm of the song. The shield bearers, supporting themselves on one knee and twisting their bodies, swing the shields around to the left and the right in time with the dancers. The images are jerked into the air and swung through half a turn to the right and back again to the left in the same manner. After a few beats of the rattle the whole party moves slowly out to the east, maintaining the movements of the dance.

The archers retreat crouching, the shield-bearers raise themselves and swing their shields as they step back slowly and the keruk singers follow them. When the group has moved about fifty yards out of the hut the advance ends and the song ceases; but the dance movements are continued to the beat of the rattle. After a brief pause the song leader begins a new song at which the whole party retreats into the shelter. Here a fourth song is sung accompanied by the same movements of shields and images. At the end of this song the keruk party retires to the rear, the images are replaced, and covered, and the mourners crowd round them wailing. The awaxōm singers take no part in this or later processions.

When the keruk singers have returned to their former positions and have begun another song, the mourners leave the images and file around in two lines, one from either side, winding in among the singers, touching them on the shoulders as they pass, crying bitterly throughout. This movement symbolizes the entry of the Heavenly Snake into the keruk house.

Singing by the keruk and awaxōm singers continues as before until about midnight when another dance procession is arranged. On this occasion a circuit of the house is made. For this dance the images are aligned in front of the house, facing inward. The shield bearers crouch in front of them under the edge of the roof and the archers creep up close behind them. The keruk singers stand as before facing the shields and images. As the singing begins the image bearers step back and swing around to the north, holding their images high before them. They retreat in line around the keruk house. The shield bearers, archers, and keruk singers follow them, the formation being the same as for the previous procession. Halts are made at each of the rear corners of the house and again at the front. After each halt a new song is started. Speeches should be made at each halt but were omitted, presumably because Joe Homer had left the ground sick (fig. 17c).

The images and singers return to their places in the shelter and the mourners file in among the singers as before.

Singing and wailing in the shelter continues for several hours. Between two and three in the morning the processional circuit of the house is repeated in exactly the same manner.

The ceremony ends a little before dawn with a further dance procession which is started when the morning star is first seen. The image bearers, shield bearers, and singers line up in front of the house as for the previous dances. They first advance very slowly a few yards out from the house, accompanied by a slow song. Before the end of this song the whole group retreats back into the shelter. A second song, with a faster tempo, follows. Vigorously swinging the images and shields, the dancers move far down the ground. As they leave the shelter, two men light arrowweed torches at the campfire and run across with them to the keruk house, igniting the root at each corner and at the four center posts. The brush thatching immediately bursts into flames and the dancers are soon brightly illuminated thereby. About a hundred yards from the shelter they stop and the singing ends. The image bearers move off in a file to the south and

deposit the images on a brushwood pyre which has been prepared at the side of the campfire. The singers disband. The shield bearers, however, march slowly back to the burning house. The archers creep behind them with drawn bows. Reaching the shelter the shield bearers turn suddenly. The archers cower and run, and are chased down the ground by the shield bearers who then return to the house and again chase the following archers. On their second return to the keruk house the bearers hold their shields high above their heads, facing the house. The archers creep close and each pair shoots an arrow into the shield before them. The bearers turn to face them and again arrows are shot into the shields. Immediately after discharging the arrows the archers drop their bows and run east into the brush. They may not return until their costumes and paint have been removed and they should first bathe in the river.

Meanwhile the smaller temporary shelter has been fired and all the paraphernalia of the ceremony carried to the image pyre to be consumed. The shields are carried over and placed on top of the heap on which mourners and onlookers throw blankets and clothes. Two men light torches at the campfire and set fire to the pyre.

As the images burn the wailing is intense, mourners rush up as if to throw themselves into the fire, scarves and shirts are torn off the back and thrown into the flames. The keruk leaders and others make speeches, shouting loudly above the crying.

As dawn approaches the flames begin to sink. One by one people drift off to their camps, light fires, and prepare food. Within a few hours the wagons and automobiles have driven off and the ground is deserted, but in former days it was considered proper to move in a body to the river, where everyone bathed and removed their paints.

KERUK SONGS²⁵³*Songs for the Making of the Ceremonial Shield*

1

- a. apa'n^y (willow) ayī' kamo' (bending) 'wa'lī gē-gē eña' yem eñ eñ
 b. apa'n^y ayī kū xwī'm (rubbing down) añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·a':
 c. apa'n^y ayikūsu'r (tearing off bark) añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·a':
 Scheme: (aaaabaaaac) × 2.

Refers to the preparation of a willow stick for the making of the ceremonial shield.

2

- a. ha'īkūpa'm hayai ī'mya mūyau (taking up?) gēgē eñe' em a'yem eñe
 b. kwīxyamā't (heaven place) ka'wī (west) 'wañ añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·a'
 īka' pūsūr (circle) kwanya' (doing) mūyau wege
 c. like b, substituting anya' (east) for ka'wī
 Scheme: (aaaaaaaaabc) × 2.

"Over in the western heavens they are making the circle to remind the people for all time. Over in the eastern heavens they are making the circle to remind the people for all time."

3

- a. yūma'nyiñ eñem kwī'sam anyeñ eñ em
 b. ayūm añam eñem ikūpa'm ura'ñ (fire?) aña:
 kwīxyamā't ka'wī ēpō'ty (long) a'īkya kuma'ñ a'kya yūmkwi kī'au ayī'm eñe:
 c. ikūpa'm urañ aña:
 d. kwīxyamā't kanya' (east) epō'ty a-peikya
 kū'mañ a'īkya yumkwīkyañ ayem eñe: 'ikūpa'm mūrañ aña:
 Scheme: (aabbed) × 4.

Describes the completion of the willow rings in the western and eastern skies.

²⁵³ Patrick Miguel.

4

- a. mōrēñ (deer hide) ēñ ēñ añ ī'sī
 mōrēñ ēñ ēñ ī'm· aixyau
 eñe:' mai ya-wī'
 mōrē gēge:'

- b. nya pū'reñ (they pull) eñ
 Scheme: (aaaaaaaabbbbbbb) × 2.

“They are pulling on the deerhide, which is being stretched over the ring. It is giving great power.”

5

- a. kēñ ēñ ēñ ekerē' (trembles) maña' (heaven) kerē'mō (rumbling)
 b. mǎñ (for amāt, earth) ūyau' īm·añ (swaying) akerē'mō
 c. mǎñ'uyau ā'muñ ūyau'ima akerē'mō
 Scheme: (aaaabbee) × 4.

“The heavens and the earth tremble as the hide is beaten knowing that man is preparing to fight.” The akwē'l makers beat on their “hide” four times at two-second intervals, followed by a ten-second pause, throughout this song.

6

- a. ūwa'mī wayūgū:' owayūgō:'
 b. ūwa'mī wayūgū:' ūwayū anu ū:' mūtyū' amai ma'kīna agañga:'
 c. kwīxyamá't (heaven place) kanya' (east) añ·añ·añ·añ· a:'
 awi'ī'ny (stone) axwata' (red) añ·añ·añ·añ· a:'
 d. like c, substituting kawī'wa (west) for kanya', and akwaca' (yellow) for axwata'

Scheme: (aabcaabd) × 4.

“To trim the hide the man on the east reaches up to the eastern heaven for a (flint) knife. It was red with blood. This is unclean and cannot be used. The man on the west then reaches to the western heaven and pulls down a clean yellow flint knife which may be used.”

7

- a. keñ iyá'ñ (going after) ana:' anyuñ u'm kawaca' (greasewood?)
 kawaca'ñ an-a:'
 anyuñu'm keñi-ya:'
 keñi-ya'ñ añ·a a:' anyuñu'm kawa'ca

b. keñ iyáñ aña: ' kwixyamátañ (heaven place) anyá' enapcī'n (grease-wood) a'msuñ

xu wa'i aña: ' anuñ umkeñiya: '

c. like b, substituting a-wi' (west) for anyá'.

Scheme: (abc) $\times$ 4.

"They send out two men first to the east, then to the west to get greasewood to lace the hide onto the ring."

8

a. yemiñ (the legs) aipa'ña: ' (hide ring) yemiñ aipa: '

Scheme: (a) $\times$ 8, (a) $\times$ 2 in a higher key.

The legs (handles) are being made and attached to the circle (eme, legs).

9

a. mūyū'r (sewing round) aipa'ña: (hide ring) mūyū'r aipa'

b. mūyū'ra: añ-an· a:

mūyūrī'xa mánakī'xa (tying)

c. mūyū'r aipa'ña:

mūyū'r aipa'ña:

mūyū'r aipa'ñam ūyu'r aipa'ña· añañ a'm ūyūraipa'

Scheme: (aaaaaaaabbbbbbbbc) (a) $\times$ 2 in a higher key.

The hide is sewn onto the ring.

10

a. mūya'u (taking up) aipa'ñ (the hide ring) am uai aipaña: '

muyau aipa: '

Scheme: (a) $\times$ 8, (a) $\times$ 2 in a higher key.

The makers are lifting up the akwēl.(?)

11

a. apōqō' (kopo grass) mōnyītka: '

manyuyao (put on) kwinū'm mitkya'

apōgō: ' apōgō-gō-gō

b. īpa'mat (human) kwicáp (shadow)

any'uyatky panyūmixya (give) hapōgō mōnyītka: ' hañama: '

mat kwīca' (shadow) panxyuyatky panumīxa

apōgō' monyītka: '

manyuyao kwingū mitkya' hapōgō-gō-gō-gō: '

Scheme: (aaaaaaaabb) $\times$ 4.

Kopo grass is bound onto the ring.

12

a. kwixyama't (heaven place) xapaiya'ra (around?) 'aw'iñi'
moñ'ōrēya' (pulling, for vorē)

b. aw iñet moñ'ōrēya moñorēya moñorēya

Scheme: (ab) × 4.

“The fringe is put on and the makers swing the shield from one side to the other(?)”

13

a. xañañama' enya'miñickwañ amiñickwañaña'

b. xaña aña:' mē'ckwa (meskwe reed) pamyāñ (short) anyā':' (west)
huñuñ omūya mīnya' vogogogo:'

c. like b, substituting epōty kawī' (long west) for pamyāñ anyā':'.

Scheme: (aaaabbaaaaace) × 4.

“Meskwe reed is sought in the east but is short, then in the west and it is long. It is bound to the hands of the shield.” (This was not actually done in the ceremony nor had the informant ever seen it done.)

14

a. kwixya'mat (heaven place) xāpā (sticks) marañaña:' añañañ a:'
amatkyūgūgūgū:'

kwiakyūñūm iya

kyuñōgōgōgō:'

āmiya kyo uñōgōgōgō:' iya:'

Scheme: (a) × 4.

The makers stand the shields up on the ground resting on the sticks which serve as handles.

15

a. anyā' cū'ē-ñē-nyē-m hixiyaña-wa'

b. anyā' cū'ē-nē-nyē-m miyañawa-ña.ñ

aña'cū omēñēñē'm

ixyaña-wa aña'cū

hēñēñgēm ixyaña-wa

Scheme: (aab) × 8.

Sung on completion of the shield.

16

- a. okwīxya'm acūgū· kwīxya añ·añ·añ·añ·kwixyam acūgū·
ipa' nyara· (burn) ñañañai anga' okwīxya'm acugū·

Scheme: (a) × 8.

“It is decided that the akwel must be burned after the ceremony.”

Songs of the Building of the Keruk House

(First Procession)

17

- a. acume (badger?) egē:' awīya
b. kwicai uwī'm añaña:' añaña:'
c. kwica'n na·p na·p (flat) kwina'm (head, mouth?) akwaca'·
(yellowish)
d. kwica'n na·p na·p kwina'm (hair) a'cāpa (white)

Scheme: (abbed) × 4 or 8.

“Badger makes ready the ground for building the house, his head is flat and yellow, his hair flat and white.” Sung when all are in order for the procession.

18

- a. kū k'uñū· (bird?) ma·nyiñe·' paixyaña·' (taken up) nyawa'
b. ikai kwixyam ikai kwiya·'
ipa'nyaruixyī' (arrow drawn on bow) ipa'nyaruixyī'
c. ko k'oñō·' ma·nyiñe·' paixyaña·'

Scheme: (aaaaaaaabc).

“The archers draw their bows aiming at the shields.” Sung during the first march out.

19

- a. kwisa'manyī okwisa'manyī
b. namca·p (white dawn) mikwañ (streaming) añ ai sawai a'wi
kwinamūcap (white dawn) ikwañ añ'ai cakī'r (noise) a'wi
Scheme: (aaaaaaaaaba).

“The house will have to be burnt at dawn and light will stream from it.” Sung at southeast corner.

20

- a. kwilya'p (midnight star in east) aiyau (comes up) aminyai ūkwa'
 b. uruxwa (night hawk wailing) meñeñeñe'
 xetpawa (coyote wailing) meñeñeñe'
 Scheme: (aaaaaaaabb) × 2.

"Midnight star is rising in the east and gives its light. Night-hawk and coyote wail." ("When the ceremony was first held a strange noise was heard in the air when the midnight star appeared. It was night-hawk who knew the time and began to sing. Coyote heard the noise and tried to imitate it. The mourners caught the melody and have sung it ever since.") Sung at southwest corner.

21

- a. anya' (east) maiyū witkyīxa· (moving) añaña:' maiyu wikya'
 b. ica'ñ añ ai mawatixa (badger)
 mawatkam kwinyau mixya icalkwanu (hands bent) witkya
 icalxama (hands round) yēliha (flat) añaña:' maiyu witkya
 Scheme: (aaaab) × 2.

"Badger sets to work leveling the site for the house. He moves his crooked forepaws. He moves his round flat paws." Sung before the house is reentered.

22

- a. awañ (house) awañ añaña:'
 ipuxauxa (custom) yēgēm ica'yūwīma (made with hands) añaña:'
 b. ī'pam (people) kwa'xāpa (go in) maiwaña mayīpuxañaña:'
 Scheme: (aaaab) × 4.

23

- a. awa (house) amitya (of crying) wañ amana (lift) aña awīgī'
 (poles) awīgege':
 b. ami (cry) inyawa' (our house) akūman (lift up) amikau (crying)
 waña' mana' awīgī' awīgege'
 Scheme: (aab) × 2.

The poles of the house of crying are lifted up.

24

- a. sañ añ a'r ma'wañañañ aipū'
 b. sañ añ ar ma'iñ iñe:' icam yañ añaïmai iñinye:'
 c. icam yañañai mai yiñiñe:' icam xwiñir memũñuñum sani yañ anai'
 maxwiñ i-r me:'

Scheme: (aaaabae) $\times$ 2.

"The house is completed. Its soul is pure. It is good and nothing can enter it to make it evil."

25

- a. i'ekiwiñ (wood) i'ekiwiñ a'rañ awi'iñir wiañerwi
 wanawañ mayiñerwi añaerwi

Scheme: (a) $\times$ 8.

"The wood chips left over are collected in a heap to be burned with the house."

26

- a. mawēñ (mouse) awēñēñēña' cū.
 b. miñiñir (trailing) ma-wa' cakali (house shelter)
 kwaxapa nyū ancū
 c. anacu'uñ ōmiñ inir mawēñ awēñ ēñēñ a-cū

Scheme: (aabccb) $\times$ 2.

"Mouse comes into the house trailing his tail across the ground."

27

- a. mōmē' (deerhoof rattle) iñyawai' (center house) ankanaya'
 (swaying).
 mōmēñeñeñeñ ūmēñeñeñe:'

Scheme: (a) $\times$ 16.

"The rattle is in the center of the house swaying from side to side."
 (The shield and ku'ul bearers sway from side to side as the keruk singers stamp slowly and bend at the knees.)

28

- a. akiyam (night bird) umi kiyam u'mi tyika' wayūmūm aka-wa-yau'
 waga:' waga:' añañaña:'
 anyi maxa'tyuñ uruuru (night hawk) tyika' wayumum
 ika' wayau waña:' añañaña:'

Scheme: (a) $\times$ 4.

"Night bird (cákwamax) and then night-hawk sing. It is getting toward dawn and a feeling like death comes over the house."

THE MOURNING CEREMONIES OF NEIGHBORING PEOPLES

The relation of the Yuma mourning ceremonial to that of neighboring peoples is of considerable interest and significance. A brief account of those that are recorded will be given and the salient traits tabulated.

MOHAVE²⁵⁴

The Mohave perform a mourning ceremony after the death of an important person. Visitors from neighboring tribes are invited and welcomed. It follows within a few days of the death (five days on the occasion witnessed by Kroeber) and lasts only one day. An open shelter supported by nine poles (three on each side and one in the center) is built beforehand.²⁵⁵ Colored calico, dresses, blankets, and so forth are hung up around the sides; bunches of feathers are suspended from the rafters near the middle.

Mourners weep and are harangued by speakers during the mourning. In the afternoon ceremonial races are run by young men who carry "feathered sticks," apparently identical with the Yuma *aokwi'l*; these have been made in the shelter during the morning. The clearing is about fifty or sixty yards long and extends south of the shelter. Eight such feathered sticks and two bows bound in red cloth are carried by the young men who line up in front of the shelter, the bow carriers standing at either end. A speaker receives the feathered sticks in pairs and "prays" over them. The stick bearers have red head scarves, which hang down at the back, the bowmen have similar scarves to which feather headdresses are attached.

After four slow circuits of the ground the runners gather at the far end. Three arrowweeds are stuck in the ground at intervals between them and the shade. These represent water holes. The two bowmen and two feathered stick carriers run out to the first arrowweed. The bowmen are spies, the feathered stick bearers are war leaders. They creep up, one by one, and examine the "water hole" in the manner described for the Yuma. They repeat this with each water

²⁵⁴ Kroeber, 4. (From an account of a Mohave mourning observed in 1903, which Dr. Kroeber has kindly put at my disposal.)

²⁵⁵ It would seem possible that the preceding days in which the shelter is built included mourning and ceremonial speeches as among the Yuma, but there is no statement to that effect.

hole till they reach the shelter, around which they run in pairs, crossing at the back and retiring on the run to the feathered stick bearers waiting at the south end of the ground. The runners all approach the house and squat in line with bowmen in front. They rise after a few minutes and run slowly down the field with long strides, bowmen again in front. People in the shelter ululate as they run. At the far end they turn and run back. The double run was continued sixteen times, running more strenuously every fourth time. After this there is a short rest while a speaker harangues them. This running should be repeated, with short intervals, eight times in all. The speaker in addressing them during these intervals tells the runners that they are repeating the original ceremony that was made when Matevilye (Kukumat, Yuma) died.

Immediately after the last run the shade is set on fire, the feathered sticks and bows and arrows are thrown onto it by their bearers as they circle the shade in two parties. They then run off to the river. Mourners throw clothing and beads into the fire. The runners must fast and bathe in the morning for four days.

HALCHIDHOMA²⁵⁶

The Halchidhoma mourning ceremony (kěru'kām) is held only for men, and at about the time of the anniversary of the death. Word is sent around to all the villages fixing the date of the ceremony. The director is not a member of the mourning family. A temporary shelter of domed willows (varāu'ká) is first built and four days later work is begun on the mourning shade, a rectangular structure, whose erection occupies four days. Before this four other men make the image which should closely resemble the dead in clothes, hair, and face paints. When the shade is completed the mourners enter and await parties from other villages. These approach ceremonially. From the outskirts of the ground they move slowly towards the shade in separate columns from each of the four directions, halting four times while their leaders make speeches. The image is now taken out and set on a post to the east of the shade. A little to the south of this is a woodpile on which clothing is heaped. While carried, the image is swung from side to side in time to the words of the speaker. There is no singing in the shade.

Some of the tribe's designated enemies are put into the domed willow hut. These would run out pretending to escape, and guards,

²⁵⁶ From field data by Dr. L. Spier.

stationed at a little distance, would chase them back and a sham battle would follow. Both sides carry weapons. A feathered stave (*huk-wilic*) is carried by one on the "friendly" side.

A man goes around making a rattling yell in his throat; he is followed by women who could run fast, carrying baskets of food. After each yell they scatter a handful of food. They run around the image pole and the woodpile at which the mourners gather. The baskets and weapons of the sham battle and finally the image are put on the woodpile, which is set on fire. Speeches are made amid much weeping. When all is consumed, the fire tender divides the ashes into four parts and buries them in four holes. The burning occurs at that time of day on which the mourned man died.

MARICOPA²⁵⁷

The Maricopa mourning (*hīcpask*) was held three days after the death of a prominent man. It was apparently given only for leaders, warriors, orators, and singers. A pyre was made as if to cremate; on this clothing, worn or brought by all those present, was heaped up. No shade or images were made. A man yelled and women chased him back and forth. The activities of the dead man were re-enacted; if a singer, his repertoire was given by one who knew his songs and his rattles consigned to the pyre; if a warrior, a battle in which he had taken prominent part was staged, one man dressing to represent the deceased and, if he had borne it, carrying the feathered stick. Many speeches were made and late in the evening the pyre was burned.

COCOPA

The Cocopa *karauk* is a tribal ritual which is initiated by the families who have recently been bereaved. It has, unfortunately, not been observed or recorded in detail. Brief notes by Gifford²⁵⁸ and Loeb²⁵⁹ indicate the general character of the ceremony. The mourning families are the instigators and most active participants in the ceremony which was formerly held almost every year in December and lasted six days. It was last held in December, 1927. They appeal to the *karauk* director, asking him to arrange it. This director can do so only four times, after which he must cede his office to another.

²⁵⁷ Field data from Dr. Spier. ²⁵⁸ Gifford, 7.

²⁵⁹ Dr. Loeb recently obtained a somewhat more detailed account from Frank Tehana, Gifford's chief informant, and has kindly put his notes at my disposal.

The director has assistants, namely, a builder, speaker, singer, and doctor. The bereaved families gather on the site to mourn throughout the night preceding the opening of the ceremony. The house is built during the morning of the first day. The house is a rectangular shade supported by twelve poles, four in each row from back to front, is about twenty-seven feet wide and approximately half that depth. The rear section of the roof slopes down steeply. The rear and sides are walled in by leaning brush against the roof in the Diegueño fashion. In front of the house an enclosure is walled in by erecting two fences of poles and arrowweed which extend, splaying outward, from the front corner posts. In the center at the outer, open end of this forecourt, a fire is laid. The house is described as a man, its various divisions corresponding to parts of the body. On the three inner poles of the front row the faces of the dead people are painted. When it is completed the mourning families move in, carrying the clothes which have been made for the dead. These are displayed and then put away at the back of the house. Formerly these were feather headdresses for the men and bark skirts for the women. Now they are complete sets of American clothing. Mourning continues throughout the day. After sundown groups of visitors collect in the forecourt and gamble while the relatives weep inside. Throughout each night the singer chants songs and the speaker exhorts the people, comforting them in their loss, reminding them of the requirements of mourning. The director does not leave the house at all and the doctor, who is a ghost curer, should stay with him for the spirits of the dead entered the house on its completion and the mourners are constantly liable to see them and fall sick. Should this happen, the doctor makes loud noises, blows smoke over the patient and in the air, and violently strikes the patient's body. During the night people who resemble the dead, dress in the clothing prepared by the mourners and, representing the dead, dance around the fire. They are led by the singer and move clockwise, holding hands. This procedure continues for four nights. Mourners and representatives of the dead must fast, bathe each morning, and avoid sexual intercourse during the ceremony.

During the afternoons horse races, shinney, and hoop and pole games are played on the cleared ground in front of the house. The mourning families do not take part in the games.

On the fifth night there is no dancing or singing. The participants rest in preparation for the strenuous activities of the last day. They enter the house soon after dawn the next morning, painting their faces

red and black and streaking their hair with white clay. They mourn until midday when a procession is formed. The representatives of the dead gather in front of the house. They are headed by the speaker and behind them follow the mourners. They go down the field in front of the house and back. This is repeated four times. "This is done the way the people used to approach the enemy." Several of the men have bows and arrows, two are mounted on horses which are supplied by the mourners and are later killed or given away. During this procedure the mourners throw money and clothing among the visitors. The night is occupied with further mourning and singing until the house is burned. The time of the burning depends on the director. If he is holding the office for the first time he orders the burning at midnight; on the second occasion, an hour or two later; on the third, still later; finally on the fourth and last occasion when he directs the ceremony, he waits until the first sign of dawn appears in the sky. The house is empty when burned, but clothes, money, and bows and arrows are also consumed at the same time in a pit which has been dug in the middle of the field and is afterward covered over so that no trace remains.

The eagle feathers, however, are not burned each time. New ones are obtained, usually from the Diegueño, by each new director and are entrusted to the ghost doctor who keeps them until used on the fourth occasion, when they too are burned. These feathers are hung from the crossbeams of the house. There are as a rule four or five sets with two or three feathers in a set. Each of the men who represent the dead wears a set while dancing.

After the ceremony is over, the director builds a small shelter where the north post of the house stood. He sleeps there four nights to dream, using a burned pole stump as a pillow. In this way he makes certain that the dead have received their presents and are pleased with them.

DIEGUEÑO

The Diegueño mourning has been recorded by DuBois²⁶⁰ and Davis.²⁶¹ It is a sib ritual and is held about every five years, when the deaths in the sib have reached ten to fifteen in number. The sib, or the active family in the sib, pays all expenses. Preparation of the ceremonial material may begin as much as two years before. The ceremony lasts six days. Food and money are lavishly distributed

²⁶⁰ DuBois, 620 ff.

²⁶¹ Davis, 1 and 2.

by the sib to its guests. During the first night the mourners wail in a temporary shelter and speeches are made. The ceremonial house is built on the second day. An expedition sets off in single file to collect the materials which are stored at some distance. It is a large structure, forty feet square, surrounded by an earthen bank on three sides. The supporting poles are arranged in four rows of four each, of which the four center poles must be erected first. The construction follows a prescribed procedure, each step of which is named and accompanied by a song. The eastern face is open, the sides and rear are enclosed by leaning brush against the earth bank and the edges of the roof which slopes steeply down at the rear. During the construction, two old women throw large quantities of corn, piñon nuts, and acorns over the material used. Bundles and boxes of ceremonial gear are carried into the house after its completion. That night boys and girls, according to the number and sex of the deceased, are dressed in the clothes later to be used for dressing the images of the dead. A log fire is built in front of the house around which the children, representing the dead, dance under the leadership of the old song leader who has a deerhoof rattle. This is repeated for four nights while wailing continues in the house and speeches are made.

On the sixth day the images are made by the families of the deceased in the keruk house. The images are made from sections of a large matting of meskwa'h reed (*Juncus textilis*), features are represented with shells and paint, feathers attached to the shoulders, and human hair used for the wigs. The wig is made in the same manner as observed among the Yuma. An image procession around the house and fire follows at about midday. The images are carried by non-relatives who are members of other sibs. At night the images are again brought out and are carried clockwise around the fire by their bearers in a slow dance while the song leader and a group of singers chant the image songs. During each song the dancers complete three circuits of the fire. The song is then repeated while a group of women, singing the song again, retreat before the dancers. Dancing and singing continues for four hours without intermission and begins again after a brief rest for a further four hours until the approach of dawn, which is gauged from the position of the morning star. The images are then carried in a final procession, making two circuits of the house and ground and are finally placed in a pit to the east of the house and fire. The house is set on fire and a brand is carried over to ignite the images.

SOUTHERN SHOSHONEANS

Image burning ceremonies were also performed by the neighboring southern groups of South Californian Shoshoneans, i.e., Cahuilla, Luiseño, Cupeño, Serrano, etc.²⁶² Like the Diegueño, these peoples interpose further rites between the cremation and the image ceremony which take the form of a feast to invited groups (sibs and lineages) at which the house (Desert Cahuilla), clothes (Diegueño),²⁶³ or selected possessions (Serrano)²⁶⁴ of the dead are burned, ceremonial gifts bestowed by the bereaved,²⁶⁵ and the ceremonial obliterating of tracks of the deceased in the dance house (Western Pass Cahuilla).²⁶⁶

As among the Diegueño, the image burning mourning ceremony is a sib function, to which other sibs are invited and receive food supplies and gifts. Among the Shoshoneans there is a permanent ceremonial house which is the scene of the ritual and is not burned. Brief accounts of the Serrano and Pass Cahuilla rituals are given in order to show the relation of the Shoshonean system to the Diegueño and Yuma rituals.

SERRANO²⁶⁷

The ritual is performed annually and lasts six days. Among the Southeastern Serrano one of the sibs undertakes it each alternate year and is assisted by sibs of the opposite moiety. It is held in the permanent ceremonial dance house. The first three days are spent in preparing food and apparatus, while the ceremonial leader of the clan retreats to the back of the house to confer with the sacred sib bundle. On the fourth day, children are ceremonially named by the sib leader, with dancing and singing. On the fifth day images are made in the morning by the families of the deceased or a paid outsider. They are of reed matting similar to the Diegueño and of the same material of which the sacred bundle is made. In the evening the eagle killing ceremony is performed and the feathers used to decorate the images. On the sixth day the whirling dance takes place during the day,²⁶⁸ and at night there is singing until an hour before dawn; girls are given to the invited guests; the images are then brought out

²⁶² The material is summarized in Strong's detailed study. Cf. also Benedict, 1, 368-369, for the Serrano.

²⁶³ Waterman, 2, 306-7.

²⁶⁵ Strong, 302.

²⁶⁴ Benedict, 1, 374; Strong, 32.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

²⁶⁷ Benedict, 1, 374-9; Strong, 32-34.

²⁶⁸ Known also to the Diegueño but not part of the mourning ritual.

by the kinswomen of the deceased who dance with them for half an hour. They are then taken by male relatives of the dead who dance toward a fire kindled outside the house. The ceremonial leader shoots, or pretends to shoot, at them with a bow and arrow. They dodge. The successful arrival of the spirit of the dead man in the land of the departed depends on their success. As the images are placed on the fire the bereaved throw away gifts for the guests to catch. Finally, strings of shell money are distributed to the leaders of the invited groups before they depart.

PASS CAHUILLA (PALM SPRINGS)²⁶⁹

The ceremony occupies six to seven days; it may (as is also the case of the Serrano) include parts of old ceremonies formerly separate, since "this grouping of ceremonies [appears] to be rather a characteristic of all mountain Shoshoneans in southern California,"²⁷⁰ which has increased in recent years. It is usually held in February and was formerly annual like that of the Desert Cahuilla, but later biennial as among the western Pass Cahuilla who held it when Orion was in the zenith. It is expected to occur about a year after the death of any important person (*sic*), but includes all recent deaths, for each of which an image is made. The ceremonial dance house is used—a round structure, forty feet in diameter, with palm leaf roof and walled, in recent times, by boards—in which there is a small back room where the ceremonial bundle (*maṣwut*—a matting bundle of *Juncus textilis*) is kept. In front is a fenced-off enclosure with a small hut containing foodstuffs stored for presentation to guests. All cooking and eating is done in the enclosure, all ritual within the house. The ceremonial leader retreats beforehand to confer with the sacred bundle while a communal rabbit hunt is held to collect sufficient food. On the first evening members of the mourning sib gather in the house to mourn, one singer dances around the fire with a bunch of owl feathers in each hand to decide whether the time is right for a mourning. The mourners then sing the creation song which describes the burning of Munkat, the creator, after he died from the sickness caused by Blue Frog, who swallowed his faeces.

It appears from Strong's description that the songs are quite distinct in manner, melody, and specific content from the Yuma *keruk* songs. These songs continue for four nights during which the visitors

²⁶⁹ Strong, 120–130.

²⁷⁰ Strong, 120.

MOURNING CEREMONIES IN THE LOWER COLORADO REGION

	Maricopa	Mohave	Halebidhoma	Yuma	Cocopa	Diegueño	Serrano	Cahuilla
Name.....	Hicpask	Keru'uk	Keru'kam	Keru'k	Karauk	Kuru'k	Wakât ?	Nûkil
Time.....	3 days after death	few days after death	anniversary of death	few months after death (September)	December	?		February
Reurrence.....	irregular	irregular	irregular	irregular (annual)	annual ?	quin- quennial (?)	annual	annual aniver- sary of death
Duration (days).....	1	1	4 (8)	4	6	6	6	6-7
Structure								
Temporary rectangular shelter								
number of supporting poles.....	0	x, 9	x	x, 14	x, 12	x, 16	0	0
Walled.....	0	0	0	0	x	x	x	x
Permanent circular.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	x
Forecourt.....	0	0	0	0	x	0	x	x
Facing.....	0	E	0	E	0	E	0	0
Second structure.....	0	0	x	x		0		
Social unit.....	tribe	tribe	village (?)	tribe	tribe	sib	sib	sib
Givers.....	tribe	tribe	?	tribe, bereaved families	bereaved families	sib	sib	sib
Mourned.....	individual, not-able male only	individual, not-able male only	individual, male only	collective (for-merly eminent individual males)	collective	collective	collective	collective
Visitors invited.....		other tribes	other villages	other tribes	other tribes	other sibs and tribes	other sibs	other sibs
Gifts to visitors (food and money).....	0	0	0	0	x	x	x	x
Speeches.....	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x
Special song series.....	0	0		x	x	x	x	x
Ceremony referred to creation.....		x		x		?	x	x

x—presence

0—absence

blank—no specific data

arrive. Visitors sing on the fourth and fifth nights. On the morning of the sixth day images are made, recently of wood, but in old times of rolled maïswut, i.e., the sacred matting. They are made by men of the visiting groups. The visitors sing through the night until dawn. In the early morning food is given to the visitors, the ceremonial leader prays over the images, singing in an unknown tongue, said to be that of the songs in the original mourning for Markat. The images are then carried around the house, followed by women who wipe out the tracks with lengths of calico. The images are then taken out to be burned while the paha attempts to shoot them as among the Serrano. Shell money is finally distributed to the visitors. The house is not burned.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

From the table it is clear that many of the traits in the Yuma keruk are shared by the Diegueño and the Shoshoneans to the west; others are, however, special to the river tribes and are absent west of the Colorado. In other words, the type of ceremony widespread in southern California and characterized by representations of the dead, the burning of images, and mourning songs is here combined with an entirely distinct concept, the enactment of ritual warfare for the benefit of the people.

The construction and burning of a mourning shelter is found among all the Yuman groups considered except the Maricopa. This structure is, however, distinct in both form and function from the Southern Shoshonean ceremonial house which is a permanent building, designed to house the ceremonial bundle possessed by the sibs of these groups; but the walling of the structure among the Diegueño and Cocopa and the use of a forecourt by the latter suggest that the Yuman shelter has been influenced by the Shoshonean ceremonial house. Among the Diegueño and Cocopa the duration of the ceremony corresponds to Shoshonean usage, but the ceremonial number, four, appears to control it among the Yuma.

Among the Diegueño where sib function, despite the lack of the fetish bundle, approximates to the Shoshonean type, the mourning ceremony is primarily a sib ritual; while on the river, where tribal unity dominates the social organization the keruk is a tribal ceremonial. Impersonation of the dead by other persons or by images is shared by the Yuma, Cocopa, and Halchidhoma. Among the Yuma

it appears probable that the image in its present form is of relatively recent introduction. Among the Mohave and Maricopa images are not made.

The wide distribution of a matting foundation, made from a particular reed and used in the construction of the images, is of particular interest. Since this matting is also used by the Shoshoneans in the wrapping of their fetish bundles and is native to their country, there can be little doubt that the image cult is earlier among them and reached the river through the intermediacy of Diegueño groups.

The ceremonies of the Mohave, Maricopa, and Halchidhoma are further differentiated from those of the Yuma and the groups to the west by the individual character of the mourning. Just as the Shoshoneans and the Diegueño mourn every recently deceased member of the sib, so the Yuma and Cocopa in their tribal ceremony mourn all the recent dead. To the east and north, however, only a prominent male individual was honored in the mourning. Several other traits such as the deerhoof rattle, the use of special song cycles, and dance processions couple the Yuma ceremony with those to the west and distinguish it from those of the Mohave and Gila groups.

The ritual warfare, which distinguishes the Yuma ceremonial so clearly from the Diegueño, becomes among the Mohave the essential feature of the ceremony. Images and songs are lacking and the rite ends when the activities of the warrior runners are completed. The Mohave war ritual is, however, distinct from that of the Yuma which, like that of the Halchidhoma and perhaps the Cocopa, consists in a less conventionalized contest between rival parties. But many elements in the Mohave "racing," such as the surreptitious advance and the marking of water holes with arrowweed stakes indicate its close relation to the Yuma practice. The Halchidhoma ceremony, although held only for a single eminent man, corresponds closely to the Yuma in the use of two shelters, the ritual combat, and the image. Since they were southern and later northern neighbors of the Yuma, until the nineteenth century the parallelism is understandable. The shooting of arrows into shields at the end of the ceremony is reported only for the Yuma.

Among the Maricopa, the mourning ceremony apparently has none of the elaboration found on the Colorado. They lack a mourning shelter and the rite appears to consist essentially of a ceremonial re-cremation of the dead accompanied by a mimetic presentation of his qualities. The absence among the Maricopa of an elaborate mourn-

ing ritual of either the Diegueño, Southern Shoshonean, or the Mohave type, suggests that they left the Colorado before the influence of the former was felt among the river tribes, and prior also to the elaboration of the ritual warfare. It is, of course, possible that a mourning ritual of the Mohave type, formerly existing among the Maricopa, has been abandoned in relatively recent times as a result of their separation or under Pima influence. The different name used by the Maricopa, in any case, confirms the distinctness of their rite from the keruk ceremonies of the more western Yumans. The restriction of the ritual to eminent men, such as singers and warriors, as was formerly the case among the Yuma, suggests that this is a differentiation of long standing between the Yuman and Southern Shoshonean type of mourning ceremony.

We may tentatively conclude, therefore, that to an early type of mourning ritual, itself related to the widespread mourning rites of California, the Yuman tribes of the Lower Colorado have added a distinctive element which reflects the militarism of their culture. Among the Mohave, apparently, this special element supersedes almost everything else. Among the Yuma, Cocopa, and probably the Halchidhoma a blend of the more widespread and the specifically river traits is apparent. Among the two former there has been a relatively recent influence from the Southern Shoshonean peoples to the east. The Diegueño, whose ritual is almost completely assimilated from that of their Shoshonean neighbors, are indicated as the intermediaries and it appears probable that it is under their influence that the mourning for an eminent individual has become a collective ritual for all the recent dead. This Diegueño influence has, according to informants, continued until very recent times when the reed matting images were first introduced.

The rudimentary character of the Maricopa ceremony suggests that the developments on the Colorado and the influence of the Shoshoneans among the groups living at and below the Gila confluence have occurred since the Maricopa moved east at some time prior to the middle of the sixteenth century.

THE FEATHERED STAVES

Feathered staves were carried in warfare by all the Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado river, but were not used by their linguistic relatives to the west and east, the Diegueño, Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai.

Among the Cocopa, a differently named staff, to which feathers do not appear to have been attached, was wrapped with strips of coyote skin.

The staff is everywhere associated with warfare; it was carried by the finest fighters, involved some handicap to the bearer, and implied a certain bravery and a no flight obligation.

The number used by a war party may have varied with the different tribes. Among the Mohave no less than eight were used in the military ritual of the mourning ceremony; among the Yuma two of contrasting color, black and white, were carried both in ritual and warfare. The Maricopa data suggests that only one was carried by the party; the conditions among the Cocopa are uncertain, but it appears that one feathered and one coyote-skin wrapped staff were carried.

Among the Yuma proper, and probably among all the river Yumans, the staves were essential to a war party; only small raids could be fought without them. In planned expeditions and pitched battles they were always carried.

These traits very definitely link the Colorado warriors' staves with the insignia carried by the officials of the military societies of the Plains, which appear to have developed from war parties.²⁷¹ These "staves" or "lances" were carried by the bravest men and involved a no-flight obligation. They consisted of straight and hooked, crozier-like lances bound with otter skin and frequently decorated with feathers.²⁷² Among the Crow

... the officers of the Foxes included two leaders; two men bearing hooked staves wrapped with otter skin; two men bearing straight staves similarly wrapped. ... The four staff-bearing officers, when in battle, were expected to plant their

²⁷¹ Cf. Wissler, 875.

²⁷² Staves from the Kiowa (6 feet long) and the Sioux (8 feet 6 inches long; no. 50, 3067), in the possession of the American Museum of Natural History, are decorated throughout their length with feather fringes attached to bands of red flannel. Bows decorated after a similar fashion (cf. Lowie, 3, 263, fig. 7) and short sticks (cf. Lumpwood Stick, Lowie, 3, 261, fig. 5) were also used as insignia but were far fewer and less widely distributed than the lances.

staffs in the ground and to stay by their standards at the risk of their lives. If, however, some friend plucked out the staff an officer was permitted to flee, though he might never tear out the stick himself. Gray-bull says that the hooked staff bearers were allowed to run a short distance before making a stand, while the straight-staff men might not run at all. It was also more disgraceful for the latter to shirk their duty than for the hook staffed men. Others deny any difference in duty or prestige between these two kinds of officers.²⁷³

The details of the ornamentation vary considerably, in some cases one or two feathers are attached at intervals along the length of a lance, e.g., Crow Hammer Society stave.²⁷⁴ Among the Pawnee, however, both straight and hooked lances of the Two Lance Society were covered with red cloth to one side of which white (goose) and black (crow) feathers were attached in alternating series down the entire length of the 2.3 meter lance.²⁷⁵ Three straight lances of the Mandan Half-Shaved Head Society were similarly decorated on one side with a fringe of black and white feathers extending down to within a few inches of the pointed base. These lances were grasped in the middle and tilted back over the shoulder, a posture similar to that of the Yuma. The other insignia consisted of four 7 to 8 foot lances wrapped with otter skin, two hooked and two straight, a war club with an iron point, and an ornamental bow and quiver.²⁷⁶

The fringe of feathers on the Yuma aokwil is obviously similar to the fringes found on the lances of the Pawnee, Mandan, and other Plains tribes, while the skin-wrapped staff of the Cocopa, which may formerly have been used by other Lower Colorado groups, clearly parallels the otter and wolf skin wrapping found on so many of the Plains "lances." A complete analysis of the distribution, frequency, and relative age of the various forms of lance standards in the Plains has not been made, and their earliest users are not traceable. Since, however, they are common to both the graded and ungraded societies and are found among tribes so remote from one another as Blackfoot, Cheyenne, and Comanche²⁷⁷ and were also used by the Plains Ojibway and Plains Cree where there are no rival or coordinated societies but merely a group of "strong-hearted men" who direct the hunt and lead in battle,²⁷⁸ there can be little doubt that they have existed for a long period in the Plains area.

On the Colorado, although direct historical evidence is lacking, the feathered staff appears to be an ancient element of Yuman culture.

²⁷³ Lowie, 2, 159.

²⁷⁴ Lowie, 2, fig. 1, A.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Murie, 562, fig. 3.

²⁷⁶ Lowie, 3, 310, and fig. 11, after Maximilian.

²⁷⁷ Lowie, 4, 811; Thomas, 294.

²⁷⁸ Wissler, 875; Skinner, 487.

It is used by all the tribes and its presence among the Maricopa, who left the river before 1540, suggests that it was in use earlier than the sixteenth century, for recent accretions to Maricopa culture have been Piman rather than Yuman.

The problem of historical connection between the Yuman staves and the lances of the Plains, both ancient traits in their respective areas and both correlated with a somewhat arbitrary type of decoration and a bravery no-flight obligation, obviously compels our attention. That the relatively isolated and immobile Yuman should have introduced the trait among the Plains tribes is hardly conceivable. We are, therefore, left with the alternative views that the feathered staff has been diffused westward to the Colorado or that it is an ancient trait of aboriginal warfare in North America, transmitted independently to the two areas. Ignorance and lack of comparative data unfortunately delay any complete solution of the problem. It can, however, be rendered somewhat more precise.

Assuming Plains influence on the Lower Colorado, the staff might be expected to have first entered the Yuman territory from the north by the shortest route through the Basin area.²⁷⁹ The Mohave appear to have been the most active and enterprising of the Yuman peoples and one might well imagine that they had acquired the trait through the intermediacy of some Basin tribe. The Cheyenne lance emblems consisting of two pairs, one with eagle feathers down the entire length, the other wrapped with otter skins,²⁸⁰ might be adduced as prototypes.

Although the influence of the Plains military societies can be traced westward among some of the Basin tribes, the lance only is found, and there not in characteristic use, among the Wind River Shoshone far to the north. These Shoshone had two groups of "police" who formed the van and rear guard of the tribe when on the march. They also supervised the hunt. But although they performed a dance and one party used inverted speech, there is no trace of the feathered lance.²⁸¹ The hooked lance may have been used, for Lowie elsewhere

²⁷⁹ Gifford, 7. In the American Museum of Natural History are two fur-wrapped staves from the Pueblo of Taos. One (50.1, 3837), 4 feet 6 inches long by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, is wrapped with fur along the upper half; two bunches of dark feathers are attached at the upper and lower ends of the wrapping. A section a foot long near the base is similarly wrapped with red flannel. The body of the staff is painted red. The other, 4 feet in length, is wrapped throughout its length save for 6 inches at either end. Single feathers are attached near the extremities of the wrapping. Plains influence is, of course, notoriously stronger at Taos on the northeastern fringe than in the other Pueblos, and the existence of these staves cannot be regarded as evidence of a Puebloan proximate source for the Lower Colorado staves.

²⁸⁰ Lowie, 5, 901.

²⁸¹ Lowie, 4, 813.

quotes a native statement that “. . . the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy, and pull him from his horse.”²⁸² But among the more southern Basin tribes there is no lance and reflections of Plains societies are very faint. The Ute Dog companies may have some relation to the Plains “police” but had neither insignia nor lances.²⁸³

It is further to be noted that the Havasupai and Walapai, the Yuman groups who lie closest to the Basin area and share much of its culture, lack warriors’ staves and afford no evidence of Plains influence. There is, therefore, little reason to believe that the feathered and skin-wrapped staves have reached the Lower Colorado from the northeast.

Similarly there is no evidence that military lances of the Plains type were used by any of the Pueblo or Apache peoples who intervene between the Lower Colorado and the Kiowa, Comanche and other tribes of the southern plains. In our present ignorance of the Apache, it is impossible to speak with certainty on this matter. Goddard speaks of ceremonial races run between the two bands of the Jicarilla Apache. The runners carry cottonwood branches in their hand and are led by a man carrying a standard from which flies a cotton cloth and on top of which are two ears of corn.²⁸⁴ The standard and branches may conceivably have some ultimate connection with the lances and staves under discussion but they do not forge a link between them.

Finally, the staves of the Lower Colorado although resembling the straight lances of the Plains at several points in both appearance and use, are not to be regarded as direct copies. They are considerably smaller, four as compared with six to eight feet in length, are pointed at both ends, and are insignia not of societies but of the tribe. Thus, although their fundamental and arbitrary parallelism as staves decorated with feathers and hide, used as war standards, and compelling especial bravery on the part of their bearers links them together in a manner which is inexplicable apart from genetic cultural relationship, yet, nevertheless, the one does not appear to be a recent

²⁸² Lowie, 6, 283. This utilitarian function is almost certainly of later date, for the Plains insignia were too fragile for this purpose, frequently made in two pieces and finally the crook was often tied across with a hide thong to hold it in shape, which would render it useless as an instrument for hooking an enemy from his horse. The ceremonial use appears to have been lost.

²⁸³ Lowie, 4, 823.

²⁸⁴ Goddard, 175.

offshoot from the other; so that in the absence of any continuity of distribution between the Plains and the Colorado, we are inclined to regard both as reaching their present distribution by diffusion from an earlier source. The wide diffusion of the lance insignia in the Plains suggests that they are relatively ancient in that area where their forms and function have been elaborated with the development of military societies. The absence of the hooked lance on the Colorado further suggests that the latter was elaborated at a later date than the straight stave, a development occurring in the Plains during the elaboration of the military societies.

Despite the impossibility of immediate demonstration, the most satisfactory provisional hypothesis lies in the assumption that feathered and skin-wrapped staves are military emblems of considerable antiquity; that they were in use in the south in early times and have been diffused northward from earlier centers into both the Lower Colorado and Plains areas.

THE FRINGED SHIELDS

Like the feathered staves, the fringed shields used in the keruk recall those of the Plains. But since the ceremonial use of the shield occurs only among the Yuma, and with them the fringed type was not used in warfare, it would seem improbable that the shield and stave were transmitted in association as elements in a complex.

The decoration of shields or shield covers with a fringe of feathers is found widely in the Plains. It also occurs in the Pueblos, where the shield forms and types of decoration suggest direct Plains influence. In both the Plains and the Pueblos the fringe is frequently carried only halfway around the shield. An Osage specimen has a fringe of feathers which are fastened by short thongs to the rim.²⁸⁵ A Comanche specimen has feathers similarly attached at two-inch intervals around two-thirds of the disc. Two feathers are also affixed to the center. This shield is also painted in four quarters, blue, yellow, blue, white; a type of shield decoration found among the Cocopa.²⁸⁶ In a Shoshone specimen the feathers are attached to a separate band of red cloth. This style is especially widespread in the Pueblos where the feathered fringe, attached in this manner to a separate edging of

²⁸⁵ American Museum of Natural History, 50.1/970. I am indebted to Dr. Ronald Olson of the American Museum for these data.

²⁸⁶ A.M.N.H., 50.1/1423.

cloth or buckskin, usually hangs down vertically from the shield on either side.²⁸⁷ The distribution of the half-fringe appears to be Southern Plains²⁸⁸ and Pueblo. In the Northern Plains, feathers are usually attached around the entire rim or in bunches at intervals. Among several Southern Plains tribes braids of grass were sometimes fastened to the rim of shields. This grass was used as incense for smoking the shields before going into battle and was part of the medicine of the shields.²⁸⁹ Although the practice of smoking military paraphernalia is quite foreign to the Yuma, it is possible that the grass rim of their ceremonial shields is to be explained as an indirect borrowing from the Plains, in which the significance and use of the grass has been forgotten.

A fringed shield was carried by the Bow priests of Zuñi. On one such shield figured by Cushing²⁹⁰ is a representation of the "Knife-feathered Monster,"

the tutelary deity of several of the societies in Zuñi. He is represented as possessing human form, and [feather] tail. His dress consists of the conventional terraced cap (representative of his dwelling among the clouds), and the ornaments, badge and garments of the Ká'ká. His weapons are the Great-Flint Knife of War, the Bow of the skies (the Rain-bow), and the arrow of lightning, and his guardian or warriors are the Great Mountain Lion of the North and that of the Upper Regions.²⁹¹

These shields are fringed on the upper half of the circumference with a band of red cloth which hangs down freely below the shield on either side. Black and white feathers are attached to the fringe throughout its length.

At Zuñi the shield appears prominently as a ceremonial element in the myth of creation and emergence. The two children created by Sun-father to lead mankind are furnished by him

with immortal youth, with power even as his own power . . . [with] a bow (Rainbow) and an arrow (Lightning). For them he made also a shield like unto his own of magic power, and a knife of flint. . . . The shield (Pi'al-tan-ne) was a mere network of sacred cords (Pi-tsan-pi-wi, cotton) on a hoop of wood, and to the centre of this net-shield was attached the magic knife.²⁹²

When they had conducted mankind to the surface of the earth they were instructed by their father, the Sun, to place their magic shield upon the wet earth to dry and harden it.

²⁸⁷ A.M.N.H., Taos 50.1/2450; Tesuque 50.1/2656, 50.1/2657; Jemez 50.1/3092, 50.1/3093; Rio Grande 50.1/2448; Zuñi 50.1/3093, and also Comanche 50.1/850.

²⁸⁸ Osage, Pawnee, Kiowa, and Comanche specimens occur in the Field Museum collections; data from Dr. R. Linton.

²⁸⁹ Information from Dr. Ralph Linton.

²⁹¹ Cushing, 40.

²⁹⁰ Cushing, pl. 10, fig. 1.

²⁹² Cushing, 13.

And when they had laid upon the magic shield the rainbow and across it the arrows of lightning, towards all the quarters of the world, the younger brother took his station facing towards the right. The older brother took his station facing towards the left. When all was ready both braced themselves to run. The older brother drew his arrow to the head, let fly, and struck the rainbow and the lightning arrows midway where they crossed [i.e., in the centre of the shield]. Instantly, *thlu-tchu!* shot the arrows of lightning in every direction, fire rolled over the face of the earth, and the two gods followed the courses of their arrows of lightning.

Although many elements of the setting are different, there is a striking analogy between this Zuñi incident and the shooting of the ceremonial shields in the Yuma re-enactment of their creation. In the latter there is also a close association with fire, the shelter bursts into flames at the moment of the shooting, the archers are crouched ready to run as they shoot, and flee from the ground when their arrows have found their mark.

The ceremonial shields of the Yuma may well have been derived from the Plains, probably through the intermediacy of Pueblo groups. The pertinent data from the Apache which would go far to confirm this derivation are, unfortunately, lacking.

But as with the feathered staves, the possibility of a common derivation from the south cannot be excluded, more especially since it is known that "feathered shields" occur in Sinaloa.²⁹³

CONCLUSION

The culture of the Yuma and, so far as it is known, that of the other tribes of the Lower Colorado is remarkable in its divergence from those of neighboring areas. Although geographically intermediate between the Pueblos and Californians, the river tribes cannot be dismissed as transitional groups, for in many instances the traits whereby they distinguish themselves from the one area are not characteristic of the other.

That there does exist among them a fusion of Southwestern and Californian features cannot be denied, but there are other elements which are strikingly individual. Like the Southwestern peoples they have a strong tribal sense, divide themselves into totemic exogamous groups, and their warfare has ritualistic aspects associated with definite esoteric beliefs. But their exogamous system is patrilineal, and apart from certain of the totemic references is divergent from

²⁹³ Recorded for the Cinaro in the foothills of Sinaloa on the Fuerte and Alamo (cf. de Obregon, B., 17, 85). Unfortunately no descriptions of comparative value are available.

the Puebloan clan and moiety systems, while their military practices do not appear to have been dominantly affected by those of the Pueblo or Apache groups. The agriculture of the Lower Colorado, although part of the American Maize-Squash complex, did not necessarily develop under Pueblo influence and the existence of a small variety of corn among the river tribes, which was also grown by the Havasupai before the recent introduction of Hopi varieties, suggests that a divergence may again be indicated.

Finally the religious customs of the river tribes force a wedge between the Pueblos on the east and the Southern Shoshoneans of California, who show remarkable and ancient relations with the Southwest in the use of sand paintings, permanent ceremonial structures, the possession of priest-like leaders, and ceremonial bundles associated with the sib.²⁹⁴ As in the Pueblos, the sweat-house and initiation societies appear among the Luiseño, Gabrielino, and others, but these are absent on the river.

The mourning ceremony and the patrilineal reckoning which controls their exogamy may be regarded as Californian characteristics. But the Yuma sibs are remote from Californian lineages, and diverge remarkably from the localized sib-lineages of their western congeners, the Diegueño. The mourning ceremony, as we have shown in some detail, has fused with other elements, which among the Mohave and Gila tribes now dominate the ritual. Similar fusion and suppression appear to have operated in the mythology.

When one considers the positive aspects of religion and magical practices one realizes most clearly the quality of distinctiveness. The dream-vision conditions the authority of everyone, from "chief" and doctor to funeral orator and singer. Concepts of wealth, hereditary right, and mere ability are subordinated to the acquisition of supernatural power. Concrete paraphernalia are, except in the mourning ceremony, reduced to the vanishing point. With this dream religion is associated a military tradition, and the one has interpenetrated the other. One dreams to secure victory; one is victorious in order to acquire spiritual strength and further spiritual power.

Kroeber has summarized the situation:

It is clear that there is substantially no less and no more reason for reckoning the river tribes in the Southwest than in the California culture area. . . . It seems likely that when the culture of the Sonoran tribes shall be better known, it may link at least as closely as that of the Pueblos with that of the Lower Colorado tribes and explain much of the genesis of the latter.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Strong, 2.

²⁹⁵ Kroeber, 2, 795.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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Plate 57. Keruk house and attackers. *a*, keruk house after completion; *b*, the attacking party. The feathered staves are seen in front. On them warriors' hoods have been hung.



a



b



c

THE COLORADO RIVER



a



b

FORT YUMA AND PILOT KNOB



YUMA TYPES

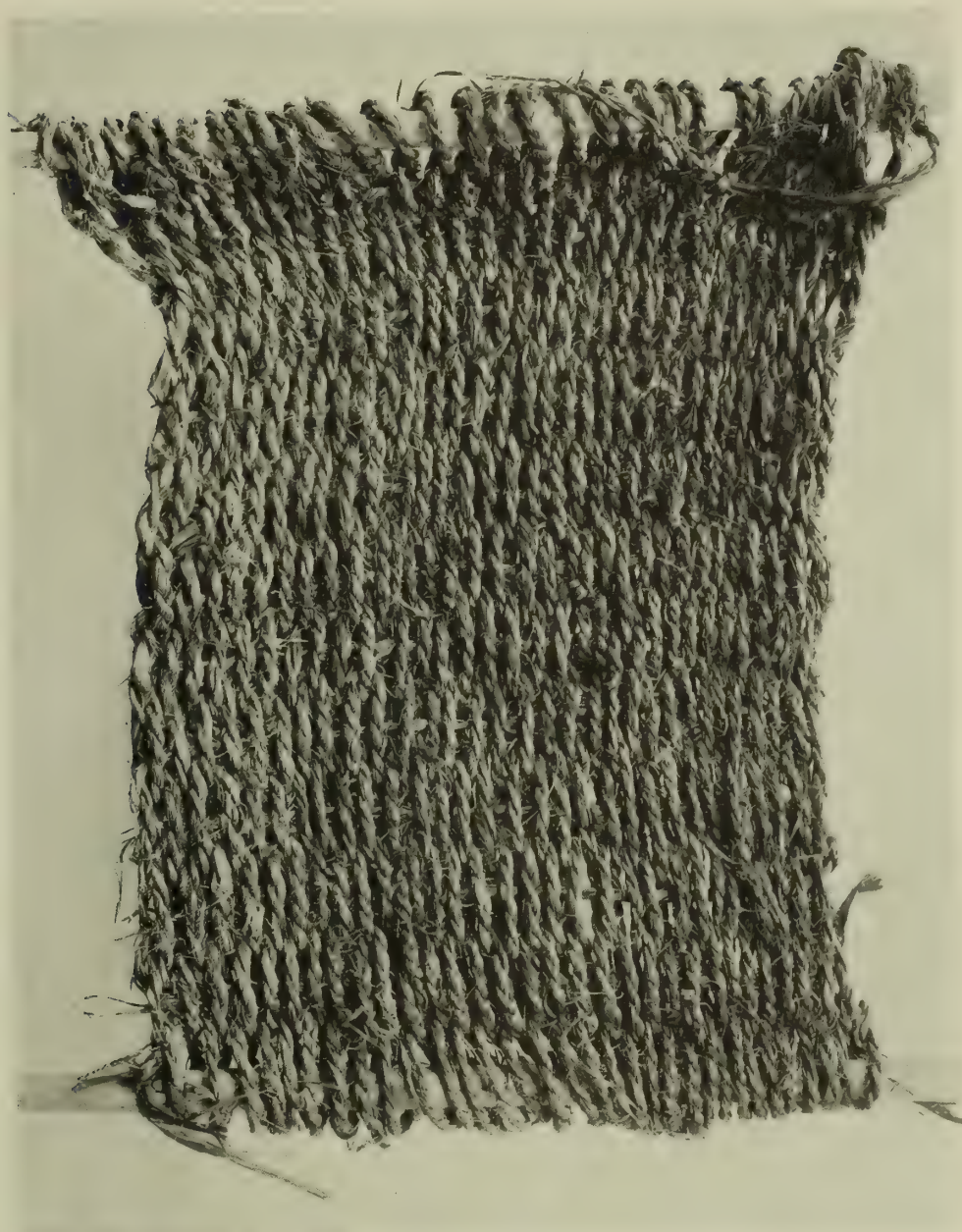


a



b

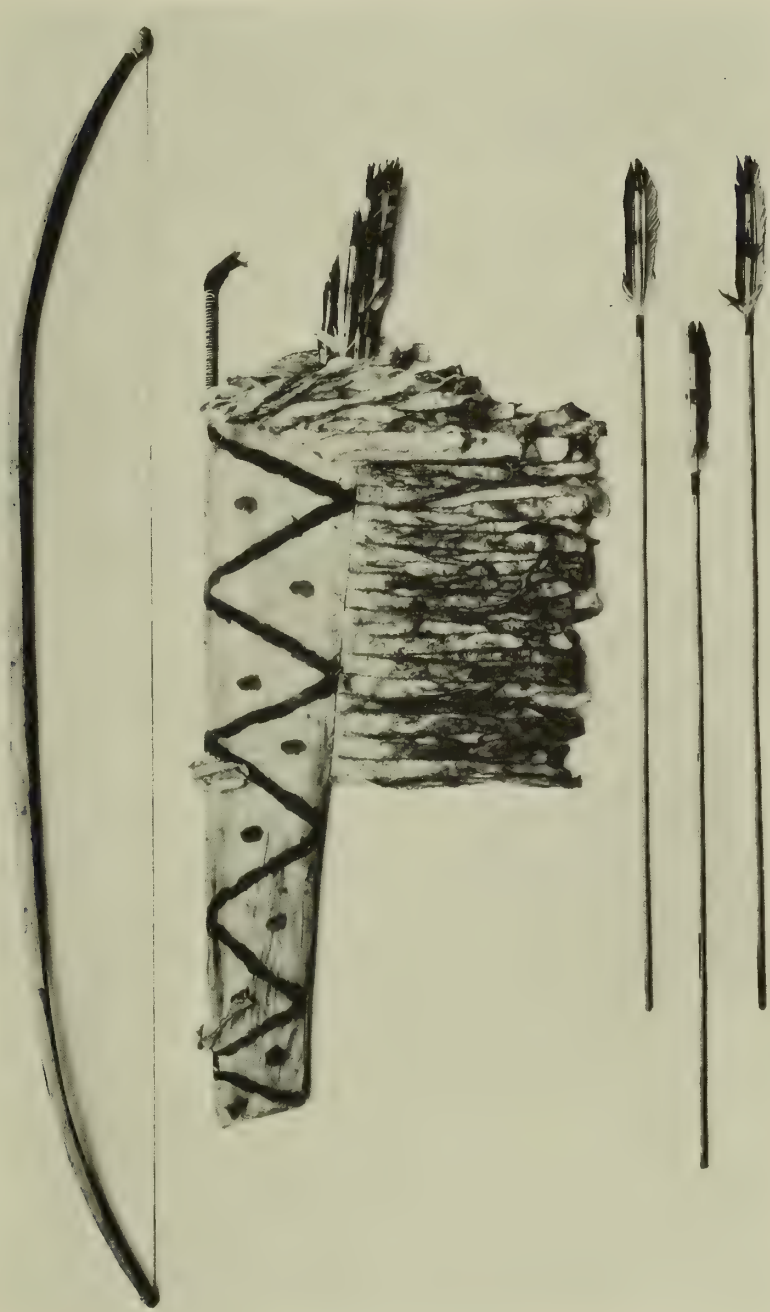
OLLA AND STORAGE BASKET



BARK TWINE WEAVING



FLUTES



BOW AND QUIVER



a



b



c

FUNERAL GROUND AND KERUK SHELTER

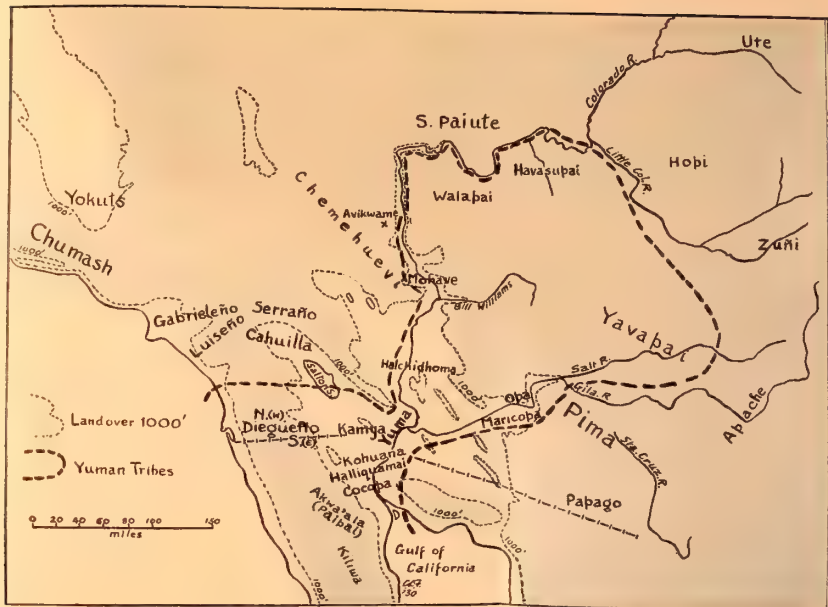


a



b

KERUK HOUSE AND ATTACKERS



Map 1. Tribal distributions in the Colorado region.



Map 2. The Lower Colorado.

WINTU MYTHS

BY

CORA DU BOIS AND DOROTHY DEMETRACOPOULOU

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INTRODUCTION

The only Wintu myths hitherto accessible are the nine contained in Jeremiah Curtin's *Creation Myths of Primitive America* which first appeared in the *New York Sun* and were later collected into volume form in 1898. It is on the basis of these nine myths that Father Wilhelm Schmidt in *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (ed. 2, 1929) devotes thirty pages to Wintu religion in the second part of the second volume of his work.

The differences between the tales in the earlier and in the present collection are obvious. In the first place the latter are neither so long nor so elaborate as those published by Curtin. This is due possibly to his single informant, Norelputus. A man much esteemed by his tribesmen, possessed of undoubted mental powers and philosophic inclination, he told myths that do not seem to represent the typical tales of the Wintu. Particularly in the Oldbæs concept and in the strong individualization of his characters, discrepancies between his narratives and those secured from a cross-section of the population will be evident on comparing the two collections.

In the minor matter of style the differences are once more apparent. Every effort has been made by the writers to adhere strictly to the Wintu manner of story telling. Individual variations were found between informants, but they all conformed to a style which differs from that of Curtin's versions.

The favorite and most widely known tales were undoubtedly Tultuheræš, Coyote and death, and those dealing with Kukup'iwit. The first myths in this collection are cosmological in nature. Stories of the first people, primeval water, flood, world fire, etc., are found but from them our informants seemed to have formulated no consistent cosmology. This type of speculation lay more in the field of shamanistic prophecy and varied from one shaman to another.

The entirely new body of traditions presented herewith will, we hope, considerably amplify and elucidate the insufficient data on the mythology of the Wintu, particularly since these form a significant link in the distribution of myths in California. To this end the comparative notes have been appended.

The material for this paper was collected by the authors on a joint field trip sponsored and financed by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, to the northern Wintun during the summer of 1929. Twenty-four of the tales, indicated by a prefixed ¹ in the titles and table of contents, were recorded in text by Demetracopoulou. The translations have been kept as near the Wintu idiom as possible. The remaining tales were secured by Du Bois in English. Comparative references have been compiled from Demetracopoulou's notes on the myths of California and immediately adjacent areas. They make no pretense at completeness. Prefixed superior figures in the text tie up myth incidents with comparative references by Demetracopoulou, listed under Notes (p. 397). A few superior figures which follow a word or incident refer to general notes. The informants and subtribes are given with each myth. It seems necessary to note here that EDC Thomas and Syke Mitchell have had wide contacts with other northern California tribes.

The Wintu area here dealt with stretches along the northernmost part of the great Sacramento valley, and along the McCloud and "Upper Sacramento" valleys in the mountains, a distance north and south of some seventy miles. The subtribes studied were those of Bald Hills, Stillwater, McCloud, and Upper Sacramento. Of these the Bald Hills group was alone found to have marked dialectic variation from the others. The Wintu of Trinity River drainage are not included. All the Wintu together constitute the "Northern Wintun" of ethnological literature and maps.

The authors wish to take this opportunity of expressing appreciation to Professor A. L. Kroeber for advice, and to him, Dr. A. H. Gayton, and Dr. J. H. Steward for use of manuscript material.

1. LONG-TAILED PEOPLE*

The ¹long-tailed people came into being at TsarauLok (Trinity Cattle Company ranch near Trinity Center). They stayed there a long time and played. They were mostly young boys. They had bows and arrows and used to shoot all the time. He-who-is-above (Oldbes) looked down and saw them. It frightened him to see these long-tailed people. He-who-is-above also saw Pounds-himself-with-his-elbow (Hakamint'akona). He did not want to see that kind of person. He did not like it. Pounds-himself-with-his-elbow was pounding the earth with his elbows and making big holes in it.

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

The people came together and talked among themselves about these strange people. They wanted to decide what to do. He-who-is-above told all the people that he was going to send a big ²flood to get rid of all these people. Frog woman (Yoholmet) who lived with Pounds-himself-with-his-elbow began making a large basket. Pounds-himself asked Frog woman, "Why are you making such a large basket?" She answered, "I'm making it just to have something to do." Pounds-himself suspected that something was wrong. He suspected there was going to be a flood, so he began strapping himself down to the earth. After a time Frog finished her basket. One night, near the middle of the night, someone came to the earth lodge where Frog and Pounds-himself were. Frog was awake and heard someone whisper, "It is just about the last of this world." So she got out her basket. Pounds-himself was still asleep. When she was just about ready the water began to rush. Everyone feared and hated Pounds-himself. When the water began entering the earth lodge, Pounds-himself woke up and saw that Frog was gone. Then the wind came and the water. Pounds-himself was fastened down so as not to float away, but the wind and water broke his fastening and washed away his earth lodge. He stood up and the water reached only to his knees. He began wading around.

Frog swam around, pushing her basket with all her things in it before her. She did not drown. Wukwuk (unidentified bird) was also swimming about in the water. His hair was tied up in two horns, one on either side of his head. He had put his two younger brothers into the horns. He-who-is-above wanted to drown everyone. He did not want to see Frog and Wukwuk swimming around, so he threw rocks at them with his sling. He threw a rock at Frog. She dodged it by raising her head and it grazed the under side of her. That is why frogs are so flat from the lower jaw down. Frog just laughed and sang all the time. She was a great singer. Then Frog said to Wukwuk, "They are going to throw at you now, my cousin," so Wukwuk dodged. The rock went between the two horns of hair and split them apart so that the two younger brothers were separated. The rock flew on beyond and smashed into the bedrock. Then Frog said, "They are going to throw at the older brother," so he dodged and lost only a few feathers.

Up north above the swimmers there were big timbers. When waves struck them they crashed together making a huge noise. They did not drift down. They stayed up there. That is why white cedar never came down into this country.

They looked up north and saw a large log, larger than any other. On it they saw some one sitting who pulled out fresh salmon and ate them. It was Otter who lived in this big hollow liveoak log. That is why even today otters live by the water in logs and kill fresh fish.

They saw Sôsini (unidentified shore bird) flying near the sky. He flew from east to west, and when he reached the west he sat down with his quiver across his knees.

Then Wukwuk said to the younger brothers, "The one who is most like me had better talk so the water will dry up." Then the older one who was most like Wukwuk began to talk. But he had only small-bird language. He just said, "Tewik, tewik (grosbeak?)." His brother said, "You can't talk like me. You will have to be another kind of bird." Then he told the other brother to talk for himself. He also spoke but he only quacked like a mud hen (k'ut). So Wukwuk said, "From now on you will be a mud hen." Then Wukwuk wanted to talk but he could only say, "Wukwuk," so that has been his name from then on.

When they were through talking, the water went down.

2. ARRIVAL OF THE ³RETURNING WATER*

There were many Indians living there. One family was rich, it had a big earth lodge built with many logs, built very firmly. They had three children, a sister, a brother, and a younger brother. Older Brother was a gambler. He played night and day. He beat everybody. He was very lucky. Then his luck changed. He began to lose all he had. He lost all he won, all he owned, all that his father had given him. Then his father told him to go to a holy spring to pray, but he did not go. He continued to gamble. Soon he lost all the things his mother had. His father scolded him but the young man said nothing. The next morning he got up early. His mother was making acorn soup. She said, "You had better eat something." He would not eat anything. Then he went. Younger Brother followed him and caught up with him. He said to him, "You had better not come with me. I am going a long way." Younger Brother said, "Never mind, let me go with you." So they went. After a while they came to the Sacramento river. Older Brother said, "I am going to swim." It was evening. There was a rock and a deep hole there.

*McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

Younger Brother swam and got out on the rock. Older Brother kept on swimming. After midnight Older Brother said, "I am going to dive. You wait for me." Then he dived. Younger Brother sat on the rock to wait for him. He waited and waited. He did not sleep. About the time that the morning star rose Older Brother came up to the surface. They went to the shore and started a fire to warm themselves by. Then Older Brother said, "When I went under I came to a big cave. I went in. I kept on going. Then I came to another place. The sun was shining; it was a fine place just like a new world. When I returned it was by another way." Then the two brothers lay down and slept for a short while. When they woke up they rebuilt the fire. Older Brother said, "Did you dream?" Younger Brother said, "Yes. I dreamed that the wind was blowing very hard and big tree tops snapped off and landed on the south side of me." Then Younger Brother said, "What did you dream?" Older Brother said, "I dreamed that the wind was blowing from the north. Trees were uprooted; people flew by; rocks rolled down toward the south. Then the water came."

Then the two brothers went back home. When they got there Younger Brother ate but Older Brother did not feel hungry; he just went to the earth lodge and lay there in a corner. His father wanted him to eat but he refused. He turned his back on all the people and just lay there. His father said, "What is the matter? Tell us your dream. Be somebody! You are supposed to tell what you dreamed when you went to a holy place." But his son would not say anything. Then his uncle came and said, "If anything happens it is the boy's father's fault. He told him to go swimming at a holy place."

The air began to change. It turned colder. It became colder and colder. The father said, "Something is wrong. Tell us what is wrong, so we can consult the doctors about it." But the boy was hurt and would not answer. Then the doctors went into a trance and told what was about to happen.

The wind began to blow. It blew stronger and stronger. First leaves began to fly by, then twigs, then limbs were snapped off and carried along by the wind. Trees began to snap in two. The people were all afraid that the world was coming to an end. The boy just lay there and said nothing. Then rocks began to fly past. All the people gathered in the earth lodge. They thought it would be a safe place because it had been built of heavy timbers, firmly lashed. Everyone gathered there. The father and mother of the boy were the

last ones in. They stood near the door. Then the earth began to be carried from the roof of the earth lodge. The sky could be seen through the logs. They saw people flying overhead. Everything was scattered by the wind. Older Brother called his sister and his younger brother to him. He strapped himself and his brother and sister to the bottommost log. Then all of their people began to be blown away. Everyone went. They were the last ones left. Then they too were carried off by the wind. Finally Older Brother lost the two who were strapped to him. Then the wind stopped and the water came. The whole world was covered with water. Older Brother floated all over the world on the water. He floated to the very end of the world and as he floated he sang a song. Then the water went down and at Herault earth appeared. There Older Brother lay. He felt something tickling him. He came to life and saw that a yellowjacket was chewing on him.

Old Wood Rat woman lived on Horse Mountain. It had not been submerged. She looked down and across from the mountain. She saw something lying there, so she asked Sucker, "What is that lying there?" Sucker answered, "That is the man who brought the world to an end." Old Wood Rat woman went over and got him.

'3. NOMLESTAWAR*

Many people came into existence somewhere. They dwelt long and no one knows what they did. And then one of them dreamed. So he said, "I dreamed; of a world wind I dreamed." And they said, "You have dreamed something bad." Then they all dwelt there a long, long time. And after that it blew, and the wind increased. They had an earth lodge, so they said, "Let us go into the earth lodge. The world is going bad." So they all went in. And they said, "Let all the people together enter the earth lodge; the world is going bad." So at noon they all entered the earth lodge. Then it blew. It blew terribly. Every kind of tree fell down westward. And the one who had dreamed, that man who had dreamed, stood outside and did not come into the earth lodge. Standing outside he spoke, "It is raining, O you people, and the trees are falling westward all at once." And he went on speaking, "The water is coming, the earth will be destroyed." And all the houses outside were blown away;

* McCloud; Jenny Curl. † denotes tales translated from texts.

none remained. Then, coming into the earth lodge, he said, "It must be that my dream is coming true. I dreamed of wind and I must have been right about the destruction of the world." He stood alone, leaning against the post of the earth lodge. And all the people went. He remained thus for a while and then the post he was leaning on came loose. Then this person went; the one who had dreamed went last after all the people were gone. So the world was destroyed and water alone was left.

Thus it was for some time, and then He-who-is-above (Oldbes) looked down from the north. He looked for a long time everywhere, west, and east, and south; he looked all around in a circle. And in the north, right in the middle of the water, something was barely visible. Then while he was looking, it moved to the west and to the east. He could scarcely see it. Then it seemed to him as if it swam around a little. It was lying there before him on the bedrock. He-who-is-above knew. It was a lamprey which lay there all alone. That lamprey had come first into existence, and lay there alone. In the meanwhile, there on the rocks, lay a little mud. The water lay there long, very long, no one knows how long it lay there, and then finally the water began to recede, to go down south, and as it receded it turned into a multitude of creeks. Then at last there lay a little earth that had come into being, and that earth turned into all kinds of trees.

This is all. It has been transformed.

4. ⁵EARTH DIVER*

⁶At first all was water. A water-fowl thought that there must be earth below. So all the water-fowls dived for it. Finally Turtle said he would try. He made himself a waterproof suit to travel in under water. Then he got much rope. He said, "If I jerk on the rope pull me out. If there is no earth I shall come to the surface all alone." Finally they pulled him up. He was helpless when he came to the surface. His mouth and ears were all plugged up with mud. They saw mud under his nails. His eyes were wedged with mud. There was mud in his mouth. They got a little mud this way. They dried it and made an island. It grew and became the world.

* McCloud; EDC Thomas.

5. LOKNORHARAS*7

A group of people lived south of Swift creek. They lived there a long time. A girl had her first menstrual flow. They began dancing the puberty dances for her. They kept on dancing without stop for several days; all danced without stopping; all joined in the dance. They danced so long that some women who had been pounding acorns left their pestles and hoppers and joined in the dance for the girl. There was no one left who was not dancing. The acorn pounders forgot to go back to their work. They seemed to think of nothing else. They went dance mad. They danced a long time; they danced towards the east until they reached Trinity River. They forded the river dancing and danced upon the flat on the other side. They danced as far as the Trinity Cattle Company ranch. They kept on dancing until they came to Elkaukoman. They danced through the gap there. Then they came to Hay Gulch. They danced up the steep ridge there. They reached the top of the ridge where there is a spring called Pauk'aukunmam. Then they stopped and sat down. Wherever they sat down there are large basins in the rock. It is the place where they first rested. These basins are called spirits' seats. Soon they started dancing again. They danced down-hill, and as they danced they began hunting lizards and snakes and eating them. They killed many, and those they could not eat they tied on their belts. They came to a place on Clear Creek. They kept on dancing until they came to where the toll house is now. They danced and danced until they came to Dog Creek. They kept on going until they reached the Sacramento. Their moccasins wore out and their clothes wore out. They danced naked but they painted themselves. They came to Tubeskalai. They came to a creek called Kuya. Then they came to Dasaltos. They reached Salt Creek near Pollock. They danced up the creek above the falls. They danced down Turpantinom Creek until they reached the McCloud near Campbell's place. Then all stopped dancing. They hunted and killed a deer. Someone brought it back to camp, and someone else said, "That is called deer." They said, "That is a pretty deer. Let's call it sacred deer." All looked at it carefully. It was really a blue-tailed lizard. All the lizards and things like that which they killed they called deer.

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

Some one wandered down to the river, looked across, and saw a large red patch of something on the other side. There were some people camping on the other side and what he saw was salmon flour spread out to dry on bark. Then that person looked down into the river and saw a salmon. He became very excited, he rushed back toward camp in a panic. He was so excited that he stumbled and fell. When he reached camp he said, "I saw something terrible. I saw something red shining across the river, and near it a person stood in the shade of a tree. He wore a feather-down headdress and he was making a speech." So everyone in the camp started out to see what it was. They were frightened. They crawled toward the river. They went back and talked over what they should do. Some said, "We'll surround him and kill him." So they went back, forded the river, surrounded the person, and killed him. They brought him back to camp. But it was really an old spawned-out salmon. They split it in two. They started a fire to cook it. They laid it on the coals to roast. When it was cooked they stood around and looked at it. They did not know what to do next. They said to one man, "You taste it." They urged one another to taste it. At last one man had courage to take a little piece. He chewed up the piece, spat out the meat, and swallowed the juice. He said, "That tasted good." So the others did the same thing. They took little pieces, chewed them up, spat out the meat, and swallowed the juice. All said it tasted good. They liked it. They began taking large pieces of it and swallowing them. They ate up the whole salmon that way. They found out that salmon was good to eat. So they began dancing again. They danced southward along the river. They speared salmon. They came to a flat called Puikloriton. They danced so much that they danced up all the rocks which are there now. They reached that place in summer. They danced there until fall. As the salmon spawned farther down the river they followed the salmon down. They followed the salmon down to the ocean, dancing all the while. They went dancing northward up the coast. Then they saw water; they saw a flood coming down from the north. They kept on dancing, now to the west. He-who-is-above (Olelbes) looked down and saw the country all flooded. He saw the dancers. He saw dust rising in a cloud. Where they were there was no flood.

6. HE-WHO-IS-ABOVE (OLELBES)*

This world came to an end three times. The first people were all short men; the next never walked, they just rolled; the last were all tall as pines. He-who-is-above was not satisfied, so he set to work and made Wintu. The first place where they were made was on the flat near Campbell Creek. He made a man and a woman and put them on the island (informant explained he meant the United States by the island). ⁸He made different pairs and each pair he put in a different place on the island. The man and woman of each pair talked the same language.

He made them early in the morning. The woman went to get water, the man went to get a spear pole. It was the same all over the island.

Then the younger generation came.

He-who-is-above (informant used word Olalbés upon some occasions and God upon others) put deer on the island. The deer would not sleep, they traveled about night and day. He-who-is-above said, "What shall I do about it?" Then he took a fishline and fishhook and baited it with an acorn. Deer found the acorn and ate it. Thus He-who-is-above caught deer. However, the deer broke away, so He-who-is-above had to give up. The hook can still be found in the deer's head.

He-who-is-above planted different acorn trees, different berries, different clovers; he put fish in the rivers, he made all kinds of animals for the Wintu.

All Indian tribes increased all over this island. There were no whites.

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

7. ⁹TULTUHERES AND OLD MAN SUN*

It came into being.

Old Woman lived near a flat to which she went every day to dig Indian potatoes. She dug for them in a big circle. At night she took them home and cooked them. The next day she would go again to dig. They were all that she had to eat. This went on for a long time. Finally there was left only a small circle of grass which she had not dug up. She went there the next day. It was a little after midday. She grasped a tuft of grass and began to dig it up. She heard a noise and was frightened so she let go of the grass. Then she went back and uprooted the tuft. ¹⁰Under the roots was a little baby. She picked it up and carried it home. She bathed the baby in a holy spring. It cried and cried, it never stopped crying. Old Woman bathed it again in a holy spring but the child continued to cry. She sang to it, she tried everything to make it stop crying. Then she went to a ridge far to the west and gathered honeysuckle. She gave the baby some honey, and it finally stopped crying and went to sleep. After that she bathed it in a holy spring and gave it honey to eat all the time.

The child grew very fast. When winter came he was already a big boy. Old Woman told the boy to play only to the south, the west, and the north. When he was bigger she taught him to carry wood. Then she made him a small bow and arrow to hunt birds with. After that he kept his grandmother supplied with all kinds of small game. When he was older he began hunting big game. He went out every day to hunt. ¹¹His grandmother said, "When you go hunting you must not go toward the east." He wondered why his grandmother always told him that, but he obeyed her, he hunted only toward the south, the west, and the north.

One day when he was a full-grown man he came to some mountains in the east while he was out hunting. He climbed up on the ridge and looked toward the east. Far to the east he saw an earth lodge. He sat there looking at the earth lodge. A girl came out to get water, carrying a basket in her hand. Her hair reached to her ankles. She got water and went back in the earth lodge. He said to himself, "That is why my grandmother did not wish me to go toward the

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

east." While he sat there another girl came out of the earth lodge to get water, carrying a basket in her hand. Her hair dragged on the ground. He sat there a long time. He did not hunt. When he was ready to go home he stood up and shot ¹²an arrow toward the earth lodge. It landed right in front of the earth lodge and as it struck it made a big noise and shook the ground. Old Man Sun said, "I guess my son-in-law is thinking of coming here." The two sisters went out and saw the arrow. They said, "Father, there is a pretty arrow sticking in the ground out there." ¹³He reached down and grasped it to pull it out, but he could not move it. Then he went back into the earth lodge.

When the young fellow came home that evening he did not have much game. His grandmother knew that he had been up in the mountains to the east. They went to bed, and the young fellow lay there thinking. Then he said, "Grandmother, ever since I have been big enough you have told me not to go toward the east. Today I went up on the ridge to the east." His grandmother began crying. "Grandson, that is where all our relatives went and there they were all killed. That is why we are here all alone," she said. He answered, "I don't want to be alone. I am going to that place."

The next day he began making arrows and bows and all kinds of weapons. Then he went far to the west and got a panther as his dog. He brought him home and tied him up. Then he was ready to go. ¹⁴His grandmother said, "Don't go away and leave me. I am too old to gather wood for myself." So Tultuheres went out and pulled up big trees and broke them up into firewood for his grandmother. Then he said, "I am going." He left and went a short way when he heard his grandmother shout, "Grandson, all the firewood is burned up." So he turned back and pulled up more trees and broke them up into firewood for his grandmother. Then he said, "I am going." He left again and went a little farther, when again he heard his grandmother shout, "Grandson, all the firewood is burned up." So he turned back again and this time he pulled up more trees and broke them up into firewood, and then left. This time he went a little farther and then he heard his grandmother shout that all the wood was gone. This time he thought a while, then he dug up sunflower roots and piled them in the house. Then he went over the hill without hearing his grandmother shout to him.

He traveled and traveled eastward, he traveled toward Sun's earth lodge. He looked around and saw many bones and all around

were snakes and poisonous creatures. So he turned his dog loose and the dog killed them all. Then he kept on traveling toward the east, toward Sun's house. Then again he saw many bones and all around were snakes and poisonous creatures. He turned his dog loose and panther killed them all. He thought to himself, "This must be what my grandmother told me about." Then he traveled some more and finally he came to Old Man Sun's earth lodge.

Sun was sitting on the fire log. He said to his daughters, "Let our guest sit down between you." Then he went outside and saw that all the poisonous creatures were dead. He cried, "Kuhi, kuhi, kuhi."

That night he gave Tultuhæres the dried meat of the people he had killed, to eat. ¹⁵Tultuhæres made believe he was eating what Sun had given him but instead he really ate his own food.

In the earth lodge sat Old Man Sun's wife. ¹⁶She sat with her face to the wall. If she looked at anyone he would be frightened to death. When she turned around and tried to look at Tultuhæres he ¹⁷flicked some powdered flint which he had under his nails into her eyes and killed her. So Old Man Sun buried her.

Just before they were ready to go to sleep, Sun said, "Let's have a smoke." Young Fellow answered, "All right, but I don't smoke very much." Then Sun filled his pipe and passed it to Young Fellow. ¹⁸He did not really smoke the pipe, he only made believe that he did. Then Young Fellow filled his pipe and handed it to Old Man Sun. After two or three puffs he found it was too strong for him. He began to choke.

Sun had a knife hung over the place where Tultuhæres was going to sleep. ¹⁹He pulled a string and let it fall on Young Fellow's heart but Young Fellow was watching and he rolled out of the way. He said, "I think something fell and broke, old man." But Sun thought he was dead and said, "That Young Fellow thinks he is smart. He thinks he can be my son-in-law. I guess I showed him who was the smarter." Young Fellow said, "What are you talking about, old man?" Then Old Man Sun changed his tone and said, "I was saying that I left that knife there and it might have killed a good man."

In the morning the old man said, "Son-in-law, my daughters like meat to eat but I am too old to hunt for them. I know where there are some birds up in a tree." Tultuhæres said nothing. He went to the tree, climbed it ²⁰and saw a whole nest of rattlesnakes. He killed them all and threw them down, then he climbed down, tied all the

snakes together with a withe, and took them back to the earth lodge. He threw them down outside of the earth lodge door, then he went in and said, "I guess that is what you people eat." So Sun went out and saw that all his people had been killed. He cried, "Kuhi, kuhi, kuhi."

Then Sun sent his son-in-law to shoot game. ²¹He (Sun) went to drive the game. Suddenly Tultuhæres saw many big grizzly bears coming toward him. He turned his dog loose and the two of them killed all the bears and brought them back to the earth lodge. He said, "I left that meat outside." Then Old Man Sun went out and saw his people lying there dead. He cried, "Kuhi, kuhi, kuhi."

The next day Old Man Sun sent Tultuhæres to spear salmon. He said, "You'll find a spear pole and toggles in the salmon house." Young Fellow went there but found only some rattlesnakes. He killed them first. ²²He waited a while then he heard a noise like an earthquake. He saw something coming. It darkened the whole salmon house. It was a huge monster with two horns. He speared it. They struggled and struggled. They tore the salmon house down. Finally he pulled the thing out and took it back to the earth lodge. "Your salmon is out there," he said. Old Man Sun went out and cried, "Kuhi, kuhi, kuhi." The old man did not know how to kill his son-in-law. He had tried almost every way.

The next morning they got up and ate, then Old Man Sun said, "When people are young they like to play. I have a tree. I'll show you how to play on it." ²³So they went to the play tree and Young Fellow saw bones lying all around it. Sun said, "You climb up to that forked limb and I'll pull the fork down." Young Fellow said, "I don't understand; you'll have to show me how to play." So the old man climbed up into the tree and Tultuhæres pulled the tree down and let it snap back. Then he climbed into the tree and let Sun snap him. Then Old Man Sun tried again but he went higher this time. When it was Tultuhæres' turn he jumped down just before the tree snapped back. Old Man Sun did not see him and said, "Yes, son-in-law, you think you are smart, you think you are smarter than I am." Then Young Fellow asked, "What were you saying?" Sun changed his tone and said, "I was just saying I thought I had killed a good man." They kept on doing this until they reached the top of the tree. Young Fellow said, "Now it is your turn, old man. I guess you had better climb to the top this time." The old man did not want to, but his son-in-law made him. Then he snapped Old Man Sun

off into the sky. He saw drops of blood spatter down on the ground at his feet. Then he heard some one say, "Son-in-law, I thought I had more power than any one else, but I guess you have more than I have." Then he said, "Send Gray Fox up here to me." So Tultuheres threw Gray Fox up and Sun wrapped him around his head. That is why the sun has a gray haze around it. When Sun was snapped up into the sky he split in two, one half became the sun and the other half became the moon.

Then a little red-bellied snake came up. He would not say anything to Young Fellow. Young Fellow asked him, "Where do you come from?" The little snake answered, "From nowhere. I am the last of my people." Then he said, "I want some water to drink." So Tultuheres stuck his dagger into the ground and water sprang up. The snake drank. After that he went back to the earth lodge and killed the two girls.

It has been transformed.

Five versions of this tale were collected, all of which were substantially the same. The following variations are to be noted.

In one version the hero is named Pomila, i.e., Earth Child, in two other versions he is called Tultuheres, which according to Curtin means "person or things dug up," and in two more versions the hero is merely spoken of as Young Fellow in which two cases the story was identified as being about Sas, i.e. Sun.

In one version the grandmother instructs the young man as to the obstacles to be overcome and gives him the necessary paraphernalia.

On the trip to Sun's earth lodge the obstacles encountered are told as follows:

"Then he came to a high bank where Ground Squirrel was. His spirit (note guiding spirit in this version, no definite description of it was given) warned him that Ground Squirrel would try to push him over so when Ground Squirrel pushed, Tultuheres dodged and Ground Squirrel fell over himself."

²⁴In another case this obstacle takes the form of a split tree which snaps together crushing its victim. It was guarded by Sun who twice tells the hero to pass through the tree and who is surprised at his escape. The hero avoids death by inserting a wedge given him by his grandmother.

In one story the earth lodge is guarded by two terrible dogs which are dispatched by blowing flint dust in their eyes.

Of the ordeals to which Sun subjects his son-in-law the following occurs twice:

"The next morning Sun said to his son-in-law, 'My son-in-law, we shall go to the earth lodge.' Young fellow told his dog to stay behind, then he went to the earth lodge with his father-in-law. Old Man Sun then built a fire of people's bones. The smoke smelled heavy and greasy. They sat there a while, then Sun said, 'I guess I'm going out now,' so he went and covered the door over so his son-in-law could not escape. So Young Fellow put his spit down and said to it, 'You stay here. You must die.' Then he made a hole in the side of the earth lodge with his dagger and went to the creek. Sas heard the spit talking in the earth lodge."

A variation of the salmon house incident is as follows:

"The next morning he went to the salmon house. He saw only little salmon trout. So at last he speared one but he could not pull him out. It almost pulled the pole away from him and dragged him into the water. Then his spirit told him to send Gopher around the world to stop the holes so the fish could not get away. Gopher did this. Finally Young Fellow pulled out the fish. It was an enormous salmon; it was Suptit,²⁵ Old Man's son and the brother of the two girls. The girls cut their hair."

²⁶In one case the grandmother sees blood drip down near her house and knows that her grandson has been successful.

The last paragraph of the version here given in full is the only tale in which the red-bellied snake appears and this was added after a pause and a digression.

48. THUNDER AND LIGHTNING*

She came into being and dwelt at North-east-uphill. She dwelt there, the Grizzly Bear woman, after she had come into being. There on the flat land, on the surface of the flat land, she rolled around, she lay rolling around, rolling around every day. She went there every morning and lay this way. She lay rolling around and throwing her legs apart, all the time she lay on her back in this way, throwing her legs apart all the time. So one noon as she was lying like that with legs apart, as she lay there, and lay there, ²⁷some one spat down from above as she lay there. The spittle fell right there into the hole as she lay with her legs apart. And she lay like that a little while, and then she jumped up. She went home and stayed there. She became pregnant. And she ached, she ached long, and in the pain she groaned and bit herself, bit her abdomen. And she said "I'll kill you, come out soon." Then the little ones were afraid. They gave her pains long, and would not come out. And she kept on biting herself, she bit her abdomen; on its west side, on its east side, she lay there biting it, groaning. Then she groaned frightfully, "I'll eat you; come out soon," she said. And the two little ones talked together. "I'll get out first," said the elder one, "and you come out soon after." ²⁸So they finished their conversation and the older one got out; and there was lightning and after the lightning there was thunder and the mother fainted.

So they came out and their grandmother came and got them. After she had got them, their grandmother took them east down the hill, running. And when she had taken them downhill to the east she set them in the stream and bathed them. Then she brought them home. She wove baby baskets for them and put them in the baby baskets.

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

And the mother went away, she ran away from there, she went away after childbirth. So she went up the hill westward to Land-on-the-west-side (Sacramento river near Delta), and after she went there, she stayed there moving about, she stayed there grazing on clover.

Now their grandmother made the two children grow fast. This went on for some time, then the old woman spoke to them, "You have a mother, grandsons, but your mother won't acknowledge you. No one knows where she has gone to," she said. And the two stayed on for quite a while, they stayed, and grew, and became men. Then at Land-on-the-west-side a gathering was called in midsummer. And the two boys went. They went to Land-on-the-west-side seeking their mother. They went on and on to the west and arrived at their grandfather's house. Behold, their grandfather sat making arrows. And when they came up to him he said, "Hello, grandsons." And then the two looked up east, and they saw, but they said nothing to the old man. And the old man waited a while and then spoke to them. "Look up east; there sits a woman, sits picking clover in fistfuls. She picks clover every morning in fistfuls over there," he said. And they sat listening and did not answer. "Grandsons, that is your mother," he said. And they said, "Oh!" And they sat a while longer then they got up and said, "Grandfather, we'll go for a while and ask mother to give us clover. We are hungry." And they left. They went east uphill and went to her. So they went east uphill and went up to her, and there she sat in front of them, she sat singing, she sat picking clover in fistfuls. So the two finally sat down there in front of her. And she looked at them. Yet she said nothing to them. And the elder one said, "Mother, we got hungry, so we came to ask you for clover." However, though she was looking at them, she would not talk to them. And the two looked at each other and got up. Then they started out; one started out and the other still stood there. And she looked at the one who had already started out and when she was looking to one side, the one who was standing shot and hit her. So now they slit their mother down the front. They took out her entrails and dragged them around and uncoiled her intestines. Then they left. They arrived at their grandfather's house. "Grandfather, we ate of the clover that mother picked," they said. And the old man spoke, "Grandsons, there is going to be a big time," he said, "here to the north," he said. They said, "Grandfather, we'll go and look on"; then they left. Going along the trail they gathered pine pitch from the trees. They mixed this with charcoal ground fine between

their palms, painted their faces black, and went on. They went north, they went, and went north, and when they came in full view of the north they arrived at the gathering place. They saw many people in front of them. Two who were further south, stood looking northward. The people in the south were shooting together northward and those on the north were shooting southward. In this way they played *henma*. And two stood playing there, stood playing *henma*. The people saw them. "Don't you two talk to those two (newcomers). They are no good," they said. It was midsummer. The people were roofing many brush houses. So these two in spite of the warning went in front of the houses and played *henma*. Then they came on from the south there, shooting southward, shooting southward they came. They said, "They killed their mother and painted themselves with pitch, and aren't ashamed of themselves." And the other two stood listening. Then they walked around for some time. Then they said, "Hiwaa (meaningless charm word), may this come to be. Black clouds gather in the west! Black ones rise and come overhanging the eastern sky!" And there in the west was a black cloud. The slope of the eastern sky had got rapidly dark. Above, starting from the east it had got dark. Then it rained. After it had rained a while it lightened and thundered and with every drop, water splashed up from the ground. The people got soaking wet; the water flooded the flat where a little while before it had been hot.

The two, who had said that, ran north going along the trail. The other two followed them. They got soaking wet. They chased them to the north along the trail and almost trampled on them, lightning and thundering. They followed them to the north, they killed the one who was called a blackbird, crushing him under foot. The blackbird shrieked and shrieked while the other one ran to the north. "May this be called the Blackbird-speech-flat," they said. They went north following the other one. They chased him to the mountain, up northward to the ridge they chased him. The one who was chased had lost all his feathers from having been trampled on. He went north up the hill, he reached the top and flew up, "Tsaik, tsaik," he said, going downhill to the north. "May this place be called Where-Blue-Jay-went-down-hill-to-the-north," said the two who had chased him. They were Lightning and Thunder. Thus it has been transformed.

In another version collected in English the introduction is essentially the same to the point where the grandmother bathes the two children. From that point on the story was completed as follows:

They grew into men very rapidly. Then they said to their grandmother (Sandhill Crane in this version), "Now we are going to leave you." Then the grandmother said, "I am glad that I brought you up to manhood. Never marry and have children. You could never find women who would be your equals. Never increase. That is my wish for you." "All right," the boys said, "we will never marry." Then she told the boys to travel in the air, so they did. Then the old woman turned into a rock.

9. COYOTE AND DEATH

A long time ago, when the first people lived, all of them came together and decided to build a staircase to heaven. They set to work. Buzzard was their leader. He said, "When people are old and blind they will go to heaven and become young and healthy again. There will be a camping place there with plenty of wood and ²⁹a spring.

³⁰Coyote came along. They were working. Coyote said, "Nephews, what are you doing?" They paid no attention to him. Then he said, "Get in the shade and rest. It is too hot to work." So finally they did. They told Coyote what they were doing. Coyote said, "It would be a good idea to have people die. People can go to burials and cry. It would be nice." "Your idea is not good," he said. Coyote argued in favor of death.

Then Buzzard and the others said, "When acorns ripen they will have no shells. Snow will be salmon flour." Coyote was against this too. He said, "Acorns should have shells so that the boys and girls can shell them and throw them at each other in the evening and have a good time. Snow should be cold, and when people go out to hunt in it they will die. That is the way it will be good."

Finally all the people became very angry and destroyed their work.

This story is widely known and many variations are found. The following may be noted:

Of five versions no other one had the salmon flour incident, and only one other had the acorn incident.

In one case Hawk rather than Buzzard is represented as the builder of the steps and in this case Hawk was building it alone.

In two versions the story ends with the destruction of the steps and Buzzard's flight to heaven, "He sailed upward. Then Coyote shouted, 'Come back!' He begged him to come back and talk some more but Buzzard paid no attention to him. ³¹Then Coyote made wings of Sunflower leaves and tried to fly after him but they wilted and he fell back to earth." In one instance Buzzard shouts back to Coyote, "You thought that death was good. All right, now you will die too." Thereupon Coyote attempts to fly above.

In two cases the spring was definitely stated to be a fountain of youth.

'10. COYOTE AND FLY (³²DEATH CONTROVERSY)*

Coyote and Fly both had a child, each had a boy. Fly's child got sick, so Fly went to Coyote for advice. "My child is sick," he said. "I want to get him well somehow," he said. He asked advice of Coyote. "It would be nice if he died," said Coyote. Fly said, "That is bad. I want to get him well," he said. But Coyote said, "No, it would be nice if he died." So Fly said, "Yes." He said, "Let him die then." "When people come on their way crying, it will be nice," said Coyote.

Then he died and they buried him. Ten days passed. ³³Then Coyote's child got sick. Coyote went for advice to Fly. "My child is sick," he said. Fly said, "You're the one who likes death. You said it would be nice if people died." Then Coyote got angry. The child was sick for some days and then died. They buried him. He did not recover. He died. It is finished. This is all.

11. BLUE JAY'S THEFT OF DAWN†³⁴

³⁵Once this country was pitch dark. The people had a meeting. They wanted to find a fast runner. Finally they chose Blue Jay. So he went eastward. He came to an earth lodge in a village where many people lived. One little boy was in the earth lodge. All the other people had gone off to a big time a little distance away. Blue Jay went into the earth lodge and talked to the boy. He said, "Where are all the people?" The boy answered, "They have gone away." In the earth lodge were storage baskets set against the wall. Blue Jay pointed at the first basket and said, "What is in that basket?" The boy answered, "Early evening." Then Blue Jay pointed to the next basket and said, "What is in that basket?" The boy answered, "Just dark." Blue Jay kept this up a long time. At last he pointed to a basket and said, "What is in that basket?" The boy said, "Dawn." Then Blue Jay seized the basket and ran away with it.

The boy shouted, "They have stolen our Dawn." The people were dancing and paid no attention to what was said. At last someone said, "The boy is shouting that someone has stolen our Dawn." So

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

† McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

they all went over to the earth lodge and began following Blue Jay. They followed him toward the west. He was going westward. He kept on going westward. Near Big Valley they caught up with him. They had almost caught him; they had almost caught him when he opened the basket and light flew out.

12. GROUND SQUIRREL AND THE THEFT OF DAYLIGHT*

This world used to be dark. Something came from the west and was going toward the east. While it was on its way it heard that the people in the east were calling a girl's puberty dance. It was dark when it left the west but when it reached the east it was daylight. The people in the east were dancing; everyone was having a good time. In the east there were acorn trees, and everything which we now have here. Something which came from the west sat there and watched the people dance. They were dancing on the southern end of a big flat. At the northern end was a house. It sat and watched them until late at night when it was dark. Then it went north toward the large house and went in. One little girl was in there. She was afraid. Something was Ground Squirrel. He said, "Don't be afraid. I am not going to hurt you." She sat there without answering. Then Squirrel noticed large storage baskets which lined the entrance to the house. They were filled with many kinds of things. They stretched all around the house. He pointed to the east and asked, "What is in that basket?" She answered, "Seeds." He asked what kind of seeds they were and she told him they were buttercup seeds. He pointed to a basket on the north side of the house and asked, "What is in that basket?" She answered, "Sunflower seeds." He pointed to another basket farther north and asked again. She told him acorns were in the baskets. He kept on asking about the contents of all the baskets. There was every kind of thing in them. Finally he came to some baskets which were right in the middle of the house. He asked, "What is in there?" She answered, "Fire." "And the one farther west?" "Daylight." "And in the one still farther west?" "Obsidian."

All the while Ground Squirrel watched to see if anyone was coming. It was past the middle of the night. Then he took daylight and fire and pine nuts, and black oak acorns, and many other kinds of acorns, and ³⁶obsidian. ³⁷He put the acorns under each arm; the

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

daylight in the pouch under one ear; and the fire in the pouch under the other ear and the obsidian on his back. He started back home.

The little girl followed him out and screamed. He ran as fast as he could. The girl called to the dancers, "Someone has stolen our daylight." The dancers did not pay any attention to her. Finally someone said, "It sounds as though someone were talking somewhere." The child called again, "Someone has stolen our daylight." She continued to call that as she approached the dancers. They ignored her. At last someone heard her and said, "It sounds as though she were saying that our daylight has been taken." Then everyone ran after Squirrel. They ran as fast as they could. Squirrel ran as fast as he could too. He had a long way to run. As he ran daylight went with him. Wherever he went it became light. He carried the obsidian on his back. As he went he dropped it but it had blistered his back and that is why Ground Squirrel has a black stripe on his back. He came to this country and planted trees here and there as he went toward the west. The other people never caught up with him. When he reached the west his daylight was all gone.

13. ANTELOPE AND THE COYOTE BOYS*

Antelope (?) (Turep) was a young man. He had no father, just a grandmother who took care of him. Coyote had a family of boys. They lived close together. Antelope and his grandmother lived to the east and Coyote lived close by to the west.

Antelope went east but Coyote did not know it. He went east under the place where the sun rises. He arrived there one evening. The people were dancing outside of the house, a round dance around a fire. In the first house there was no one but a little girl who was blind. Antelope went in the house and asked the little girl what was in the storage baskets which were in the house. He said, "What is in that storage basket?" She answered, "In that basket are dentalia." He asked what was in the next basket, and she told him it was clam disk money. He kept on asking what was in the various baskets and she told him they contained daylight, darkness, and many other things. Then Antelope picked up the basket containing clam disk money and ran with it. The girl shouted, "A man came from the west. He took our clam disk money. Stop dancing and run after him." So

* McCloud; Billy Stone.

everyone stopped dancing and pursued Antelope. They could not catch him, so Antelope came home with the clam disk money.

Coyote's children went up north to Olivella creek. They went and got olivella. Then went north to Olivella creek for them. Coyote's children went.

The next night Antelope went again to the east, again he went into the house, and again asked what was in all the baskets. At first the little girl would not tell him. Finally she said, "In that one is daylight; in that one, darkness; in that one, kibale (a stone bead unknown to present Wintu); in that one, dentalia." This time Antelope took the dentalia. The little girl again shouted to the dancers and they pursued Antelope, but could not catch him. He brought the dentalia home.

When he reached home he peeped into Coyote's earth lodge. Coyote saw him and said, "What are you doing for a living? You just lie around and do nothing. My boys went up north and gathered olivella," he said. Antelope felt badly. He went home crying and told his grandmother what Coyote had said. His grandmother was angry and said, "I'll show him what I have. He has nothing." So she hung up all her shells in the earth lodge, all her otter skins, everything she had. Coyote came and was surprised. He asked the old woman, "Where did you get all those things?" Then the old woman said, "Antelope goes back east and gets all those things." She told him how he got them.

Then Coyote said to Antelope, "I'll send my sons with you." Antelope answered, "They can't run fast enough. They will be caught." Coyote said, "They can run fast enough."

So one night Antelope and Coyote's twelve sons started toward the east. They went to the same house. Again they asked the little girl what was in the storage baskets, and again the little girl told what they contained. Then Antelope and each one of the Coyote boys took a basket. They took clam disk money, dentalia, otter hides, mink hides, fisher hides. Each one took some kind of treasure. Again the girl shouted and the people began chasing them. After running maybe a mile they caught one Coyote boy. Antelope turned back and pulled a hair from the boy's head and then went on running toward the west. He got away. A little farther on the people caught another of the Coyote boys. Again Antelope turned back and secured a hair from his head and escaped. Then the people caught a third Coyote boy. After a time they had caught all the Coyote boys, but they

could not catch Antelope. He was too quick and would always jump away from them. They caught the oldest Coyote boy just a short distance from his house. Then Antelope was all alone. He went toward home with the twelve hairs crying: "East downhill far away they got themselves caught; the kuatak (?) children."

As he approached the house, Coyote heard his song. He listened. He heard the song again. Then the old woman listened. She heard the song. Coyote turned the song around. He said, "The song says that Antelope has got himself caught." The old woman said, "No, the song says that the Coyote boys have got themselves caught." Then Coyote threw hot ashes on the old woman's face to see if she told the truth. She never moved. Then she threw hot ashes on Coyote's face and he moved. That showed he had lied. Coyote almost went insane when Antelope came home. He almost killed himself in the earth lodge. ³⁸That night Antelope put the twelve hairs ³⁹in the swift water of the river. In the morning at daybreak he heard the Coyote boys shouting down in the river. They had come to life. Old Coyote was glad. He jumped into the water and was washed down the river.

14. COYOTE AND ⁴⁰THE THEFT OF FIRE*

A long time ago people did not have fire. They ate everything raw. Someone asked Coyote if he knew about fire and he said, "Yes, I have been told there is fire." Then they all decided to hunt for fire and they made Coyote their leader. Then they started out; they traveled and traveled toward the north. Then they smelled something strange. Coyote lifted his nose in the air and said, "I smell warmth." All the other animals said, "Yes." Then they sniffed, and sniffed, and discovered that the smell came from the north. They followed the smell northward and soon they came to the house of two women who had fire in their house. Coyote said, "I am the only one who has the right song. I'll pretend that I am cold and hungry. There are two doors to the house. I'll beg to enter and they will pity me." Then Coyote made himself look as shabby as possible. ⁴¹He then posted his people in a row to catch the fire and run with it, he posted Panther, Deer, Squirrel, and all the people. Then he told someone to knock on the one door to give him a chance to escape by the other.

* McCloud; EDC Thomas.

Then Coyote went to the house. He looked very shabby. The two women let him come in. He sat down by the fire and nodded. He pretended to go to sleep near the fire. The two women said, "Poor fellow, he is sleepy." Meanwhile Coyote caught sight of a small stick of oak which was burning. He pretended to sleep. The two women went to bed. Then they heard someone at the door. While they went to the door Coyote jumped up, seized the brand, and jumped out of the other door. Then all the animals began running. The two women saw that Coyote had stolen some of their fire and they chased the animals. First Panther ran, then Deer, then Fox, then Tree Squirrel, he ran up trees and down trees, then Ground Squirrel ran, he ran into the ground and out of it. Finally Frog was passed the oak coal. The two women almost caught up with him. They grasped his tail just as he dived into the water, and since then frogs have never had tails. Just before Frog dived down to the mud he threw the coal into a hollow stump.

15. THEFT OF OBSIDIAN*

Some people called a time at the flat named Tok'. They were going to hunt deer. They set snares on the runway at Blood Gap. Adder had real obsidian. The others made their arrows out of just anything. They did not know about obsidian. When deer were caught in snares, Adder shot and ran as fast as he could to the deer, pulled out the obsidian and hid it in his quiver. The obsidian was very powerful. The others would shoot too, but only sometimes would they kill a deer. Adder always killed them. He killed so many, the blood began running down both sides of the gap into the creeks. That is how the gap got its name. That night they carried the deer back to camp and had a big feast.

The next day the same thing happened. For three or four days this kept on happening. Adder always killed most of the deer. The others became jealous and talked things over among themselves. They decided that Adder must have some very powerful weapon. They told the fast runners like Humming Bird and Fox to watch Adder and race to the deer before Adder could get there.

On the following day the fast runners stationed themselves near Adder. One man called Puimeminbes was near. When Adder shot, all began running. Puimeminbes got there first. He put his hand in

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

the wound and pulled the obsidian out and ran away. When Adder came he put his fingers in the wound and could not find his obsidian. He knew it had been stolen and he was very angry. He went right back to camp and got his things ready to go back down south from where he had come. He told the others his obsidian had been stolen and he was going to get even with the people who had taken it.

Meanwhile Puimeminbes ran up the ridge of Sandhill Crane Mountain. The other people all knew what was going to happen. They knew that Adder was going to set the world on fire. They all got ready to leave.

When Puimeminbes got to the top of the ridge Sandhill Crane was there, and so was Ground Squirrel who was to run with the obsidian. The obsidian was very large by now. Puimeminbes gave Ground Squirrel the pack and told him to run. Sandhill Crane told him to go right away because the fire had already started. He said he would stay on the mountain and watch the fire. He would call to him and tell him how near it was coming. He said, "When you hear my voice getting dim you will know that you are far enough away."

So Squirrel started going. He went north, and went north, and went north. He went past Mount Shasta. He could still hear Crane telling him about the fire. He kept on going until he could hardly hear Crane's voice, then he dropped his load. That is where Glass Mountain is today. That is why Ground Squirrel has a black mark on his back. The obsidian got hot and scorched him.

The people who were left behind were caught by the fire right above their camp. The rocks at Wakpom are those old-time people.

16. PUIMEMINMAK, THE DEER MAKER*

Puimeminmak lived with his grandmother. He lived with her a long time. He grew big enough to hunt deer. Every day he killed deer; he never failed. They had much deer meat. They saved every part of the deer. Every part was hung around the house. Every part was hung in a separate place. He did this for a long time. Then the man said, "I am going to leave you." He said, "I am going south. When I have gone, there will be no deer in this country; all the animals are going to follow me, all the birds, the snakes, everything. You use up all our meat. A big snow will come. Everyone will starve. When you have eaten all the meat, go down to where the trail crosses

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

the creek and set a snare. The next morning you will find a deer in it. That will be for you to use."

Then he left. The first day he traveled all day and then he camped that night. He built a fire, smoked, and talked to the animals he had with him. He had every kind of animal with him. The next day he traveled again. The animals hid during the day. The same thing happened every day and every night. He traveled for about ten days. One evening he came to a place and said, "Here we are now." He said, "You animals must hide yourselves until I tell you to come out." Then he went down into the valley. It was sundown. He went south down into the valley where there was an earth lodge. He sat down. Then he saw two women, two sisters, come toward him with carrying baskets. He turned himself into an ugly, dirty little man with a bow and arrow which were of no use. The younger sister came and saw him sitting on some manzanita wood. She smelled him, jumped back and said, "Someone is here." The elder sister spoke to him. He had two mountain quail. The elder sister said, "Where did you get them?" He answered, "Oh, I just got them." Then they said they were going home. The elder sister put him in her basket. He said, "Don't tell anyone." They took him home. It was dark when they got there. They hid him so the mother and father did not know he was there. He stayed there all the next day. The elder sister gave her mother the quail. They ate it but the mother asked no questions.

The next night Puimeminmak told the two girls to sleep soundly. After midnight he got up and went to his uncle who lived quite a long way from there. He got there the same night. His uncle said, "Hello, nephew. I heard about your traveling." Then Puimeminmak asked his uncle for something to wear. Then he took a dagger and peeled off his little dirty skin and turned into a big fine-looking man with hair down to the ground. He put on moccasins, an otter skin, and beads. He stuck a dagger through his topknot. He had a bow and arrows. Then he left his uncle. He returned to the earth lodge. He had been gone just a short time. He lay down with the two women and one of them woke up. She did not see the ugly, dirty little man. She thought that he had killed him. He said, "No, I am the same man."

The people who lived there hunted all the time, but they never killed a deer. They killed snakes and called them deer. The chief made a speech and told all the people to go hunting; he asked Puimeminmak to go too. He said, "I have never hunted much, but I'll go."

They went. He looked for deer tracks but saw none. No one killed anything because Puiməminmak wished it. They came home that night and said they had killed nothing. They kept on doing this for a long time.

One day they went hunting again. They went way off in the mountains. They circled around to drive the deer. It was midday and they had not yet seen deer. Then they started home. Puiməminmak said to his father-in-law, said to the chief, "You and your men had better stay with me." Then they came to a gulch. He said, "Stop, there are deer." He shot at them and killed twenty-five right in one spot. They were real deer. The others were surprised. Each person had a deer. That night they had a big feast. Puiməminmak said, "Don't eat snakes, they are no good. You want to kill deer."

The next day he told his animals to come out and show themselves. Half of them he told to stay hidden. He was going home soon. The other people went hunting for real deer now.

Puiməminmak stayed there a long time. He had a son. Then he decided to go home. He went home with half of his animals. He went back with them. He returned to his grandmother with his wives and his son. When he returned, there were plenty of deer again. That is why every fall the deer go south and return in the new year.

17. SOUTH-FLAT-SALT-MAN (NORDALWELIMUK)*

South-flat-salt-man's mother was Bā'lus. He was born at Mohmas (a flat near Redding). When he cried he sounded like a bear, not like a human child. He grew very rapidly. His mother took care of him. Every one feared him, even his mother and father. ⁴²One day they all went to Cow creek to dig Indian potatoes and they left him behind in his basket. ⁴³As soon as they had left he stood up with his basket still tied on him and walked away. He traveled northward, stopping now and then to eat potatoes and greens. That night before he camped he called on the clouds in three directions to bring rain. Then he crawled under some sunflower leaves, and it began to rain. It rained, and rained, and rained. He wanted the people who had deserted him to be wet and cold.

That night the people in the camp doctored to see what had caused the rain. It was very cold. The doctor told them what made the rain,

* McCloud; Billy Stone.

so the next day everyone went back to the old camp to find South-flat-salt-man. They hunted all day but could not find him. On the next day his sister started out with a basket of potatoes to hunt for him. She looked for three days and at last found him. She gave him potatoes to eat and begged him to return home with her. He refused because he had been deserted. So his sister was forced to go home alone and tell her parents what had happened.

All this time South-flat-salt-man was growing very fast. He could almost make a living for himself. All this time also he kept moving toward the north. His sister came to look for him every day but sometimes she was not able to find him.

One evening after his sister had left him, a ball of something came rolling from the east up to where he was sitting. It was a ball of salt. He tasted it and liked it so he ate it all up. The next day his sister could not find him. That evening a red ball came rolling from the east up to where he sat. It was a large cherry. He tasted it and liked it so he ate it all up. The second day his sister succeeded in finding him. She begged him once more to go home with her, but he refused. She went away crying. That night an old woman came from the east carrying on her back a basket full of greens. "Grandson," she said, "I have come to get you because you are all alone. I think you had better come with me." He would not go with her that night because he wanted to see his sister once more. On the third day when his sister came, he told her that his grandmother had come to get him and that he was going away with her. His sister felt very badly and went home crying. That night the boy's grandmother came and took him to East Gap where she lived. She bathed him and dressed him nicely. They lived there together for some time.

One day the old woman said, "Grandson, something is eating my acorns when I soak them down at the river. It takes my basket, too." The boy answered, "I'll watch for it and kill it." So the old woman gave him a nice bow and arrow and he went down to the river very early in the morning to watch. He stayed in the water and watched the place where the acorns were soaking. He saw something come to the surface and begin to cut the rope which tied the basket to the willow bush. The boy aimed and hit the thing in the side. It sank without taking the acorns. He watched some more and soon he saw something come up to the surface near where he stood. It was dead. The thing which he had shot was Beaver. He picked him up in one hand and carried him home. He was becoming very strong. When

he reached home, he left Beaver outside his grandmother's door. She was glad that her grandson had killed it.

South-flat-salt-man soon became a grown man. He was small but very strong. One day he said to his grandmother, "I am going to go where Norwanṭakas and his brother Keriha are fishing. They are good fishermen and I shall surely get some fish to eat." His grandmother answered, "Yes, they are good fishermen. You will surely get fish to eat. You must take them a net bag full of potatoes." So he put a large quantity of potatoes in his net carrying bag, but they filled only one corner of it. The next morning he picked up his bag in one hand and started off. When he approached the camp of the two brothers he left the potatoes a short distance away and went into camp. Only the younger brother Keriha was there. Norwanṭakas was in the fish house. Keriha looked at South-flat-salt-man and thought he was only a boy. He went down to the river and told his brother that a small man had come to visit them and now he would have a good time with him. His older brother warned him that he was a powerful man and that he had better not tease him. Keriha paid no attention to what his brother had said. When he reached camp, South-flat-salt-man told Keriha that he had left some potatoes outside of the camp and that he had better get them. Keriha went to get them but found that he could not lift the net. He came back and said, "I couldn't lift them." So South-flat-salt-man went for them and carried them easily in one hand. Thereupon Keriha ran down to the river and told his brother what happened. Norwanṭakas said, "I told you to be careful." Then the two brothers returned to camp with many sturgeon and salmon. They cooked them and gave South-flat-salt-man some to eat. He ate, and ate, and ate. Soon he had eaten up all there was. Keriha was very surprised. Norwanṭakas said, "I have been fishing but I haven't caught many. Bring your carrying net down to the river and help yourself." They went down to the river and South-flat-salt-man put all the fish that Norwanṭakas had caught in his net. There were a great many salmon and sturgeon, but they scarcely filled one corner. Then he said, "Goodbye, nephews," and went off carrying his net in one hand.⁴⁴

18. ⁴⁵HUHURIT*

Once there were two brothers.⁴⁶ Huhurit, the older one, went to hunt deer all the time. They never roasted their meat, they just boiled it and ate it. Older Brother told Younger Brother to go and get wood. "You must do that," he said. "When I get deer, you must get wood so we can boil our meat." The little fellow always went to gather wood. In the evening Older Brother boiled a large basket of meat and told Younger Brother to eat that the next day while he was gone. "You must never roast meat," he said. Younger Brother always did as he was told.

One day Younger Brother went out to play. He came home at about midday. He was very hungry. He sat in the house and looked up at all the nice dried meat hanging there. His brother never allowed him to make a fire, but this time he made one. When the fire was a nice bed of coals he reached up and got a piece of fat meat and threw it on the coals. It smoked and sizzled. By and by he took it out of the fire and tasted it with the end of his tongue. It tasted good so he ate it all up. Then he got another piece and did the same thing. Huhurit who was in the mountains ⁴⁷felt a buzzing in his ears and knew what Younger Brother was doing. While Younger Brother was eating the second piece he heard something in the house making a noise like a small mouse. He heard *țup, țup, țup*. Whenever he took a bite he heard the same noise in the corner of the house which was farthest north. He listened. Finally he went to the corner from which the noise came. He heard the noise all the time. He moved the baskets of food away and scratched around in the leaves and earth. Suddenly he saw a tiny shrew. He picked it up and laid it in the palm of his hand. "My brother and I shall play with you," he said. He dripped a bit of fat in front of the nose of the tiny shrew. It licked the fat up. Younger Brother then gave him some more. It licked up the fat faster and faster. Soon it began running around in his hand. Younger Brother put it down on the ground and fed it more fat. Soon it was as large as a big mouse. It kept on growing very fast. Before long it was as large as a small dog. It began running around the house. Younger Brother could not hold him any more, so he got Older Brother's strap and tied him up, but the

* McCloud Jenny Curl.

shrew just dragged him around. By and by he ran out of the door, dragging Younger Brother after him. It was afternoon. It ran north. Younger Brother still clung to the strap. He said, "Wait a minute. This strap belongs to my brother and I want to leave it for him." But the thing paid no attention to what he said. He kept dragging Younger Brother after him. He took him far to the north. Then he turned around, killed Younger Brother, and took out his heart. He continued to go north with the heart. When he arrived way up north where his earth lodge was, he hung the heart above the fire and began smoking it with pitchy wood until it turned black. The people who lived in this place gathered much fir pitch. They cooked it like acorn soup and drank it boiling hot.

When Huhurit came home it was late. He wondered where Younger Brother was. He looked everywhere but could not find him. The next morning he looked for tracks but could not find any. So he took all his valuables and set out to hunt for Younger Brother. First he went north. He asked everywhere where he found people if they had seen his little brother. Nobody knew anything about him. He went on and on. Then he went east. He always asked everybody about his little brother but no one could tell him anything. Next he traveled north, then west. He was gone a long time. By and by he came back halfway to where he had started from. He had asked everybody.

When he came to this place it was midday. There was a house there. He went in and saw many ⁴⁸spider people sitting all around the wall of the house making rope. He spoke to them. They just said, "Um." He spoke again and they just answered "Um. We are making rope." Some of the people told Older Brother to go stand on the west side of the house. The people on the west side told him to go stand on the east side of the house. He stood around and did not know what to do. No one asked him to sit down. At last he said, "What is the matter with you people?" and sat down on the fire log; "I just want to ask about my little brother. I lost him a month ago. Do you know anything about it?" No one answered him. He continued, "I have been all over the world asking about my brother, but I can't get any information. That is why I came here. There is only one person I haven't asked. Look up. There he goes. The only reason I haven't asked him is because I have no way of getting up there. Can you go ask him for me?" Among the Spider people was one with many piles of rope, so Older Brother asked him if he could not go up above with it. He answered, "Yes." He went outside and took a

big coil of rope with him. He laid the coil down in the middle of the flat. Lizard lay by the coil to watch how far up he would go. Spider with all the rope started. He went up and up. They watched him until he was out of sight. They could see the rope still uncoiling. Lizard lay and watched him. Soon the rope was all gone, and Lizard called out that he had turned back. When he got back another one started out and Lizard watched him again. But his rope was too short, also. Finally everyone had tried but one little fellow who had his rope coiled up in a live-oak acorn cup. Older Brother asked him to try too, so he took his bundle of rope and started. Older Brother told him, "When you get up there, tell the one above (Sas, i.e., Sun) that I have lost my little brother, that I lost him a month ago, and have searched everywhere for him but no one knows anything about him." Little Spider went and went. His rope seemed never to uncoil. Lizard watched, and watched, and watched. He never blinked once. By and by Lizard said, "He has got past the place which the others reached." The other people asked Lizard where he was and he answered, "He has reached the sky now." All the rope seemed to be there yet.

When Little Spider got on top, he went to the main trail and looked east. He saw a person approaching. ⁴⁹He watched him coming. Soon Sun came to where Little Fellow was standing. Little Fellow then said, "Old Man Sun, stop, I want to talk to you. I was sent up here to find out some things." He told him that Huhurit had lost his younger brother and had searched for him everywhere but had not been able to find him. At last he had wished to ask Sun because he traveled west all day looking down toward the world and he saw all that happened. Old Man Sun sat there and never said a word. Then Little Spider asked if Sun knew where Younger Brother was. "Yes," he said, "every time I go down this trail I look as far north and as far down as I can. Look way down there. Do you see a place smoking? The thing which stole Younger Brother killed him and took his heart. It is now smoking with pitch. The heart is almost dead. Tell Older Brother to go as fast as he can."

Little Spider said, "Yes, that is what I came to learn." He started down his rope. Lizard shouted, "He's coming." Spider came down, and down, and down. Finally he got there and said, "Old Man Sun said you must go fast. They have your brother's heart in the earth lodge far to the north and they are smoking it. They are building a fire under it every day."

So Older Brother went. He went on, and on, and on, as fast as he could. He traveled northward all the time. The next morning he looked toward the north and saw smoke rising. He said to himself, "I must be getting nearer." He kept on going. Near sundown he reached the place. He saw a house. He thought and thought how to enter it without being recognized. He came to a thicket of fir. Looking across the thicket he saw a man (elxutluxutlu—a mountain being). He watched him taking the bark from the trees. He thought, and thought, and thought. ⁵⁰At last he gathered some celery roots and put them in his basket. Next he pounded them up and cut them open so they resembled a female sex organ. He placed this on his penis. Then he made himself a front and back apron, put pitch on his face and made himself look like an old woman. The man who was taking the bark from the trees never noticed this old woman. She walked downhill on the north side, picking up twigs and throwing them back into her basket. She made believe that she had not seen the man. He kept on peeling off bark. The old woman sat down and began straightening the wood in her basket. At last the old man saw her. He would look at her and then peel off a bit of bark. Then he would look again and peel a little more bark. At last he stopped and just watched her. She leaned backward to adjust her basket and in so doing spread her legs apart and revealed her genital organs. The old man came toward her. She acted as though she were about to arise. He threw her over backward. Instead of falling straight back she fell to one side. He crouched over her. She said, "Wait a moment. Something is sticking into me." She braced herself on her elbow and pretended to reach for a stick which was in her way. She slid up the hillside so that his head was under her chin. She drew her dagger and thrust it into the soft part of the man's skull. She twisted it around and around and finally stripped his whole skin off. ⁵¹Then Huhurit took off his disguise, put on the man's skin and his clothes and went to the house. All the people were there boiling pitch like acorn soup.

Elxutluxutlu had told the people that if anything happened he would be there, early or late. When they saw Huhurit coming in his skin they were suspicious. They said, "This must be Huhurit." Huhurit paid no attention to what they said. He began making a speech just as Elxutluxutlu always did. They said, "Let's give him boiling pitch with hot rocks in it, to drink. If it is Huhurit his eyelids will twitch. But if it is Elxutluxutlu they won't, because he is used to it." So the people boiled some pitch and gave it to Huhurit to drink. They

stood around him and watched him closely to see if his eyelids would twitch. He drank the pitch right down and his eyelids never twitched. Then Huhurit began making a speech. He said, "People round about here, come together in the earth lodge. Huhurit may come. When you kill a person, his people come to surround you." So everyone went into the earth lodge, not one stayed outside. Only Huhurit stayed outside. He talked all the while. Then he collected much pitch and put it all around the earth lodge and all around the smoke hole. When it was dark he entered the earth lodge. The heart of his younger brother which was being smoked called out softly, "Older Brother." Huhurit took it down and carried it outside, and then he re-entered the earth lodge. Some of the people said, "What would you do if Huhurit should come?" Duck said, "I'd do this," and he flew out of the smoke hole, re-entering by the door. Then everybody tried it. They went out of the smoke hole and came in again by the door. Then Beaver said, "I'd do this," and he slapped the ground with his tail and water splashed all around. Many others showed what they would do. At last Huhurit said, "I hope you have luck, and sleep soundly." Then everyone went to sleep. It was midnight. Huhurit went outside and set fire to the pitch, all around the earth lodge and around the smoke hole. Then he stood back and watched. Soon the whole earth lodge was on fire. It burned all up. Everyone shrieked. Some tried to go through the smoke hole but they fell back in the fire. Beaver slapped the ground with his tail but he only scattered ashes. Huhurit stood on the north side and watched, and watched, and watched, until it was the middle of the next afternoon. There was nothing left but ashes. Suddenly right in the middle of the ashes he saw a little whirlwind rise up toward the sky. He said, "He! He! There was something more powerful than I, here among them." It was Rattlesnake. He had power even after all had been burned. ⁵²Huhurit took his brother's heart home and steamed it. It came to life again but was a different person.

19. NORDALMUNOKO*

Nordalmunoko lived on Buckeye plain. He was small but very powerful. He could uproot trees and overturn mountains. He lived with his grandmother on this plain. He had been born there. He was young and would go digging for roots and greens. He had a carrying net; when it was full no person could lift it but he could carry it

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

easily. He dug for roots for several years. All the time he was growing. One day he found a dead eagle. He plucked its feathers. He thought to himself, "Maybe some day they will be good for something." He brought them to his grandmother. She used them to make his arrows out of. She made him a bow and arrows to hunt game with. Instead of going digging he now went hunting for birds. He killed birds from a brush shelter near a spring. He kept his grandmother supplied with birds. He kept on doing this and all the while he was growing older and bigger. People began hearing about him and talking about him. He was small for his age but he was very powerful.

One day two girls came to the brush shelter where he was hunting birds. They talked to him for a long time. They said, "We have come to get you." He said, "I guess I'll go with you"; so he went without telling his grandmother good-bye. Then they led him away. He could not do anything. He had no power left. He picked up one white acorn and one piece of wild grape vine and put them in his net. Then they led him toward the west where they came from, where there was a big earth lodge, where games went on all the time. These two women were Grizzly Bear women.

⁵³In a short time they reached the place where they lived. The Grizzly Bear people were jealous of him because he had the two girls. They wanted to test him, so they said, "Let's play football." Then they began playing. The Grizzly Bear people kicked the ball but they could not send it far. Then Nordalmunoko kicked the ball and sent it toward the east, far to the east he sent it, over the mountain to the next field, he sent it.

So then they challenged him to a shooting match. They said, "Let's see who can shoot farthest." Their bows and arrows were nicely made, they looked nice. Nordalmunoko's were only rudely made, his grandmother had made them for him. Then they began shooting, some shot a long way, others did not shoot so far. There were many there and they were all in practice for the big time. Then they called on Nordalmunoko to shoot. He pulled out his roughly made bow and arrows. He said, "I don't know how to shoot well, but I'll try." Then he shot and his arrow fluttered and quivered, it looked as though it were about to fall after going only a short way, then suddenly it picked up speed. The farther it went the faster it went; it went over hills and valleys. It came to high mountains and turned into an eagle, it flew over the mountains and alighted in front of his grandmother's house.

All this time his grandmother knew what was happening.

After the shooting match they challenged him to a spearing match. Very big fish came to where they were spearing and the Grizzly Bear men could not pull them out but Nordalmunoko pulled them out easily. He fed all the people with the fish which he caught. The Grizzly Bear men were jealous because they could not outdo him.

Then they decided to hunt. The Grizzly Bear people wished that a deer might go far up on the mountain. Then they told him where to find deer. He went up the mountain and those who had stayed below set fire to it. When Nordalmunoko got to the top he saw the fire. There was no way to escape. He did not know what to do. Then he threw down his beaver quiver. It drew dampness. Water oozed out of it. As the fire drew near the water ran to meet it. The quiver floated and Nordalmunoko used it as a raft. The quiver turned into a beaver; the beaver slapped its tail and splashed water over the fire and put it out. Then Nordalmunoko went back to where the people were. They were surprised to see him. Nordalmunoko was angry. He decided to get his revenge, so he wished that a big snowstorm might come. That night black clouds came and it began snowing. It snowed for a long time, for a very long time. Everything was snowed under, the earth lodge, the wood, everything. The people could not go out and they were getting hungry. Nordalmunoko thought, "Let them starve."

After it had stopped snowing Nordalmunoko went outside. The snow was very deep. It was over his head. He began clearing away the snow. His father-in-law and his mother-in-law who were in the earth lodge said to their daughters, "What is he doing that for?" But the daughters did not know. He cleared a large space before sundown, then he began gathering wood, he pulled trees up by the roots and broke them into fire wood. Then he set fire to the wood. He planted the acorn and the grapevine which he had brought with him. After that he danced; he sang as he danced. The acorn and grapevine began to grow. He kept on dancing and singing. He sang about his grandmother and the place he came from. He said that he did not believe he would ever see them again. All this time the acorn and the grapevine kept on growing. The acorn grew into an oak and the grapevine climbed on it. By the middle of the night the acorns and the grapes began to ripen. His father-in-law and his mother-in-law said, "I guess he is a man. I guess he can do anything," but they did not leave the earth lodge to see what he was doing. At day-

break the acorns began falling. All the people were hungry, they came to gather, and roast, and eat them. Also they picked the grapes and ate them.

The two sisters each had a son. The boys grew very fast and began singing, "We pricked our feet with bears' teeth." The Grizzly Bear people were surprised and frightened too.

20. KOHORTI*

A man lived near Baird; he was small but very powerful. Two sisters, Grizzly Bear women, came to ask him to a big time held in the east. They said, "We are going to have a big time. You had better come with us." So he got ready, he got an iron-ore rock to make a football out of, he got everything. Then they went. He could not walk fast because he was so small. When they got to the Pit river at Silverthorn's ferry they sat down to rest. The two sisters asked, "How are you going to cross?" He said, "Oh, I'll get across." Then the sisters crossed first and went on. When they were out of sight they hid themselves to watch how he would cross. He just stepped across as though it were a creek. Then he took one or two steps and caught up to them. They went on ahead again. When they had gone a long way they sat down to rest. Kohorti took one or two steps and caught up with them. They reached the place to which they were going at about nightfall. The father of the two Grizzly Bear sisters was a chief. He said, "There are bad people here. They are grizzly bears. You had better not go out or you will be killed." He said this because Kohorti was so small; he was so small that his quiver dragged on the ground.

⁵⁴The next morning Kohorti stayed in the earth lodge all day while the others went out and had a good time. He had ten brothers-in-law. One came to him and said, "Let's play football." He said, "I don't know how to play football but I'll try." The others told him not to play. "You'll get hurt," they said. He went out and there were ten grizzly bears playing against him. He was alone on his side. They used their ball. The bears held the ball down with their feet for the little fellow to kick. He kicked and broke the ball into pieces. Then the little fellow said, "I have a ball but I don't know whether it is any good." Kohorti held his ball down and a grizzly bear kicked and broke his foot. Then he kicked the ball and it went bouncing over

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

the field. When the bears tried to stop it, it broke their legs; when they bumped into Kohorti they hurt themselves.

Then the little fellow went back to the earth lodge. They challenged him to a distance shooting contest. They went to a long valley. Kohorti said, "You shoot first." Some of them shot very far. "I guess you will beat me, but I'll try," he said, then he took an arrow with eagle feathers on it and shot. The arrow went a short distance and began to curve downward. It looked as though it would fall, then suddenly it turned into an eagle and flew off, so he won.

⁵⁵Other people were gambling. Coyote was on one side. His two wives were Gopher women and he had a son. Coyote lost everything he had. At last he bet his eyebrows and he was down to the last counter. He was sure he would lose so he said to his son, "Ask your mother what I should do." The son went to ask his mother what Coyote should do. Gopher woman said, "I thought he knew how to gamble. Doesn't he know that the other men have holes under them through which they pass the ace? Tell him to shoot outside and I'll stop up the holes." So Coyote said, "Let's go outside." Gopher woman stopped up the holes and made one for Coyote. Then Coyote did what the others had done. He won everything back.

There was excitement going on all the time. The chiefs came to have a talking contest. Some talked a long time, some talked half of the night, but Wolwol (linnet?) spoke for a whole day and a whole night. He won the talking contest.

Everyone showed his beads.

They had a contest to decide who was the best-looking man and who was the best-looking woman. There was a big time lasting the whole summer.

Kohorti became tired and disgusted. He wished for a big snow storm. It came. Everybody became thin and starved. Then he told his father-in-law to make a big fire. He said, "I am going to dance tonight and then I am going home." So his father-in-law made a fire to melt the snow and dry the ground. Kohorti put on all his fine things, he put on acorn twigs, all kinds of berries, manzanitas, everything. Then he danced, he danced all night. A big oak tree grew from the acorn twigs on his head. It began to bear acorns. Blackberries, cherries, grapes, everything began to ripen. The things which were ripe began to drop off as he danced. All the Bear people came and ate. The acorns under the tree were deep. Then Kohorti stopped dancing. He went home, but after that there were oak trees and fruits and berries there.

21. BULLFISH*

Bullfish came from Lockmillers hole near Ono. It is a holy place. Many people lived there, the owl, the hawks, the live horn shell, and many others. Every morning Bullfish got up and sang, "Grandmother, grind me bad acorns." He told her he was going to Wilson flat to gather grasshoppers with all the fine people who were there. Little old ugly Bullfish went to the flat with his basket. The others said, "Here comes that ugly Bullfish! He comes every day. Who wants to see him! He always comes just when we are nearly through." Bullfish paid no attention to what they said. He was ugly while all the other people were handsome. The girls all made fun of him. He picked up grasshoppers but he never was able to fill his basket more than half full. This happened every day for a long while. When he went home at night, his grandmother would ask him how he had got along. Then they would eat grasshoppers and acorn soup.

One day he came home and said, "There are many fine people there. I wish you could go to see them. They all like me." His grandmother answered, "You mustn't believe that. They are just making fun of us. Who would like poor people like us?" A few days later he came home and said, "Grandmother, two girls love me." To which his grandmother again answered, "You mustn't believe that. They are just making fun of you. Who would think of a poor ugly boy like you?" He only said, "I'll bring them home tomorrow." The grandmother pretended she did not believe him.

The next day he went to Wilson flat again. One of the girls came to pick grasshoppers with him. They talked together. That night he took her home with him. The girl's sister called after her as she left, "Are you going home with that ugly old Bullfish? Can't you find anyone better than that?" The woman was the Clam Shell woman. That night the grandmother sang; she told the girl to sleep soundly until it was broad daylight. When the girl had gone to sleep the grandmother turned to the boy and said, "Now you must be a man. We have our own holy place right here at Lockmillers hole. Go there and swim." He did as his grandmother told him. When he returned he was a handsome man with long black hair. The grandmother once more told him, "You must be a man now. You have a woman who has

* Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

come from the ocean a long way off. She will go back and you will have a long road to travel when you follow her." Then she gave him many clam disk beads, an otter quiver filled with arrows, a bow, and many other things. To the girl she gave many horn shells.

The next morning when they went back to Wilson flat everyone looked at them. They were beautifully dressed. The girl's sister said, "Who is that handsome man with my sister? I am going over to talk to him." She approached the pair, but felt ashamed because they were so rich. She asked her sister where she had got this man, and the sister answered, "He is the man I went home with last night." "I can't believe that. He is so handsome. I like this man." Then the sister went back to the other people and told them what a fine man her sister had found. She said she was going home with him too that night. So after that Bullfish had the two sisters for some time.

One night the older sister said she wanted to go back home. Bullfish said, "No, you can't go. Wait until I am ready to go too." After that he watched her every night, but on the fourth night she managed to slip off. Bullfish followed her. He would see her right ahead of him but when he tried to catch up with her and seize her she slipped away from him. He followed her, and followed her, and followed her. At last they had almost come to the ocean, when he said, "You don't want to come home with me. I am going back alone." The woman answered, "You have followed me a long way. No other man would have followed me so far. Now you must go on." Bullfish thought a while, then he said, "I can't swim. You belong in the ocean, you can." She replied, "You must decide to come with me. I'll lead you. But you must be careful, there are many people where I live who will tease you. You must be clever. They will test you in different ways. They will test you in killing deer. They will say, 'Whoever kills the first deer is a man!' My husband, you must not be outwitted. They will challenge you to races and rock-throwing contests. Don't be afraid. You will not come in last."

Thereupon she took him by the hand and they swam across the ocean until they came to an island. There were many people there.⁵⁶ They all made fun of Bullfish. They said, "Now we shall see what kind of a man you have brought back." The next morning a man went out to make a fire at a long distance. Then someone said, "Whoever reaches the fire first will be a man." All the men made fun of Bullfish. They said, "Now we are going to show you up." Then they

all began running. Bullfish soon outstripped the others. He reached the fire before some had got halfway to it. All the girl's brothers took the part of Bullfish and said, "You had better not dare strangers." The others answered, "This is only the first time. We shall beat him yet."

All this time Bullfish' grandmother was singing for him.

Next the men challenged Bullfish to a buck hunt. They said, "The first one to kill a buck is a man." Each one boasted that he would be the first to kill a buck. Bullfish said nothing. Then they all went hunting. Bullfish was the first to kill a buck. It was a large one. All his relatives-in-law once more shouted, "Now you see that you had better not dare strangers." The other men were beaten.

Bullfish stayed with his wife's people for some time, then he swam back and went to Lockmiller hole.⁵⁷

'22. TOPIWAIK'ALALTE*

There were many people all over the world. There was a gambler whose name was Topiwaik'alalte. He went to some people's house, he arrived at the people's house, he spoke thus, "Let's gamble," he said. The people said, "Yes, let's gamble." They gambled, he gambled every day, he went on gambling and lost, all his treasures were gone. He came on his way using a cane. Topiwaik'alalte had lost all the treasures, his treasures. He stood for a while and heard an invitation from down west, he heard an invitation to all the people for beads, an invitation for beads he heard, they were calling a big time. So when he heard the invitation Topiwaik'alalte went happy on his way, went west toward the place where the invitation had come from. Many people were going west. And he went, Topiwaik'alalte. He found the scalp of a red-headed woodpecker, Topiwaik'alalte went behind the others, working on it, and many people were going before him. Topiwaik'alalte named it kipanamas; he went behind the others working on it. He went westward, he went westward, he stopped for a while, looked down the hill to the south and saw two women sitting, saw the two sitting facing each other. Topiwaik'alalte stood still. The women looked up, looked to the north. They saw Topiwaik'alalte standing, saw him. So they said, "Our cousin is going by. Let's go," said the women. The women said, "Yes, let's go where our cousin

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

is going. Let's go with him down west. Our cousin is going to the big time," they said. The two women came up to Topiwaik'alaltε. "Cousin, we came to go with you," they said. So they went westward, down west to the bead party.

In the meanwhile the people who were going in front sat down. The people said, "Topiwaik'alaltε comes followed by two women." He went and sat down and now all who were on their way to the place where the people lived were sitting down. The two women were Rattlesnake women. Topiwaik'alaltε put the red-headed woodpecker kipanamas around his forehead. He said, "Yes, let's go," he said. They all got up, and went, and came to the place where the people lived. It was evening when they arrived at the dwelling of the people, at the dwelling of those who had called the big time. There were many people. They kept swarming in all day. Then some one spoke early the next morning, a man who was a chief gave a speech. He finished speaking, another got up and spoke, a chief. Then this one finished. Another got up, finished speaking. Another got up and spoke, another got up and finished speaking. Topiwaik'alaltε got up last and spoke, started to speak, and while he spoke on, while he spoke, he spat out saliva, he spat out k'owit, k'owit all in a heap; Topiwaik'alaltε spoke some more, he spoke, and spoke, and spoke, spat out red-headed woodpeckers all in a heap, and they said, "Yatuk, yatuk, yatuk." The people said, "Bring and start a fire around them so that they won't spread their wings, surround them with fire, the red-headed woodpeckers of Topiwaik'alaltε's saliva." So Topiwaik'alaltε won in the speech-making match. The people said, "Let's gamble," they said. To Topiwaik'alaltε they said, "We bet you," they said, "your kipanamas which you have around your forehead." The two women sat close by, looking on. Topiwaik'alaltε said, "Yes, let's gamble. I bet this which I have around my forehead." The others bet many beads, betting against the one kipanamas. They gambled, and gambled, and gambled. Topiwaik'alaltε sat down; they put the gambling beans in the middle, the gambling beans. The man who dwelt down there in the west guessed right, but when his hands were guessed he was never caught. He was about to win from Topiwaik'alaltε the only bean which was left. ⁵⁸The two women came up to Topiwaik'alaltε. the two women came up. "Cousin, why don't you open your eyes? Look on the ground below. He has made holes for himself on both sides and gambles with you in this way," said the two women. The two women had a gopher tail. They sent the gopher tail below. The

gopher tail went and stopped up the hole below, went east and stopped the hole to the east. It stopped up both. Topiwaik'alalte guessed with the last bean, he guessed, and caught the other. Then Topiwaik'alalte started to deal, gambled, and gambled, and gambled. Topiwaik'alalte won many treasures, he won all day long. The people carried on their backs the beads that had been won, he won many beads. Then he came towards his home, got there, he won them and brought them home. It has been transformed, it has turned into something, this is all.

23. DENTALIUM*

Dentalium had been born and brought up at Mount Shasta. His uncle was Beaver. Dentalium was rich. He had many beads. One day he decided to go south. His uncle wanted to go too. Dentalium said, "I think you had better not go. It is a long way. You'll get sore feet." But Beaver went anyway. Dentalium put on his buckskin moccasins, clothes, beads, woodpecker-scalp belt, his quiver, all his valuables. Beaver had nothing.

They started out. They traveled south all that day. That night they camped. Then they started again the next day. They traveled five days, they traveled ten days. Dentalium said, "We'll be there tonight." He was going south to marry a woman. When it was almost sundown they came in sight of where they were going. Dentalium felt sorry for the old man. He gave him all his fine things and said, "You go ahead."

The old man went ahead. He came to the chief's house when it was almost dark. Beaver went in and sat down between the two daughters. Dentalium came, but no one paid any attention to him. They gave Beaver acorn soup and meat to eat. No one offered Dentalium anything to eat. Two orphans were living there, a boy and a girl. They gave Dentalium something to eat.

The next morning the chief made a speech. He called everyone to go hunting. Beaver had never been hunting before. He did not know how to hunt but he went out with the others anyway. Dentalium stayed home. Dentalium asked the orphan boy, "Where are your father and mother?" The boy said, "I haven't any father or mother." Dentalium felt sorry for him. Then the boy said, "Let's go gather pine nuts." So they went. After a while Dentalium and the boy said to each other that they had each found a few. Dentalium

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

had secretly killed a squirrel. The boy came and saw a big pile of nuts that Dentalium had gathered. He was surprised.

Dentalium asked the boy, "Is that girl your sister?" The boy said, "Yes." Then Dentalium gave the girl the nuts he had gathered and the squirrel. He felt sorry for them because the chief treated them badly. Dentalium wished that the children might grow fast.

That night the hunters came home. They had not got anything. So the next day they went out again to hunt. Dentalium said to the boy, "Let's go hunting too." Then he told the sister to move out from the chief's house and to make the camp away from the others.

Dentalium and the boy killed two fat bucks. The girl made acorn soup. Dentalium wished that everything should be nice. The girl became a woman and Dentalium married her. That night the hunters came home without having killed any game.

The next day everyone went hunting again. Then Dentalium told the woman that Beaver was his uncle. "He is lazy and doesn't know how to hunt. All the fine things he has belong to me. I think you had better go get them today while we are out hunting." Then Dentalium and his brother-in-law went out to hunt. The woman went to the chief's house and got all the fine things which belonged to Dentalium. When the hunters returned that evening they found out that Beaver had lied, so they clubbed him and killed him.

Dentalium went back north with the brother and sister.

24. FLY*

Fly and another man went off to a big time. When they got there they were challenged to gamble; those two against all the others were challenged to gamble. They lost everything they had but their loin cloths. They bet their loin cloths and then they began to win everything back. They won everything the others had too. They won everything from the others but their loin cloths. The others were very angry and decided to get their property back by force. Little Fly packed up all that they had won and put the pack on his back and started to fly off. The pack was too heavy. He flew a short distance and was forced to come down again. Some said, "Catch him!" But the others said, "He is too small to get away with the pack." Fly rose in the air again and this time he flew away with all his winnings.

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

'25. NINI (LOVE STORY)*

Many people came into being. There was a couple which had one son. They had come into being at Campbell creek. Thus they were for a long time, dwelling there. They stayed where they were and the little boy began to grow and become handsome. And no one saw him. And the people talked among themselves. "They say he is a handsome man," they said. He stayed there, and stayed there, and turned into a man. And the women heard about him. They came in numbers to where the man dwelt, and surely it was because they wanted to see him. However, they went to other houses there. And they watched but they did not see him.

Now at daybreak that man used to go bathing there in the creek that was down the hill to the south, but no one saw him. So the women who had come, watched three and many days for him, yet they did not see him. Then other women came from the west and from the north they come to that place. So they continued to come, and new ones arrived, and they all talked among themselves. The man heard them. He disliked all the women, so he did not want to stay.

Now all the women went to bathe down the hill to the south where the man was accustomed to bathe, and they saw damp tracks on the ground, tracks coming uphill.⁵⁹ And there in the water they found a long hair. And when they found the hair they all rushed to get it. Once they had seen the hair, they all wanted to see the man, saying, "It must have fallen from his head." So they sat in the house and thought. "Let's watch tomorrow," they said.

The man, disliking them all, spoke to his father and mother, saying, "I am not going to stay here."

Things went on like this until the next morning when the women went to bathe, planning to see the man; but the man had gone to bathe before them. So when the women went downhill there were already damp tracks returning along the creek. They were all very much annoyed. So after they had bathed, they went home and stayed there.

Now the man who kept to the house, stayed in his home at the west end of the place.

In the evening they lay there talking to one another. "Let us watch this evening," they said. So early in the evening they went

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

south downhill along the trail to the creek. Two went south down the hill and sat down where he usually went along the creek a little above the water. And a little further up, west of the trail, here again two more sat. But the man knew already that they were to watch for him. Now they all sat watching. They sat all night. They sat, and sat, and sat, all of them. And the dawn came, and they slept sitting as they were. They were asleep for a short while. Then the man went downhill to the water, bathed, and after bathing came back uphill to his house. Then the women woke up, went down to the water, and behold, there were wet tracks already returning. And they were all annoyed, and talked together. They almost wept. Then they went to live in someone else's house over there in the east.

And the man, after he got home, warmed himself here and there by the fire, and after warming himself he parted his hair and spread it out. After a time it dried and the old woman got the meal ready. After he had eaten, he spoke. "I will go away this morning," he said to his parents. So after he had finished eating and had combed his hair, he got some red rock and some tail fat and mixed them together. Then he painted himself and took his weapons and said, "Well, I'm going." And they said, "Yes," to their son. So he went outside and stood in front of his house. And the women, they who had wanted to see him, saw him. Two sisters stood there who had wanted terribly to see him. Thus they saw him. So the man stood around wishing that all should see him. Then he went off toward the west, then he went northward uphill to the trail. The two saw him. When he had gone halfway up the hill there to the north, they went in, the two women, and got carrying baskets. They put the baskets on their backs when they got outside. They went to the east side of the house, they went around to the east side, and after that they went up the hill to the north, following him running. They went northward at a running pace over the north flat, wishing to see the man who had gone down the hill northward. And the man was not there but there lay his tracks going forward. And they ran, they went at a running pace, they went rapidly. And at South-slope-climb, when they came in full view of the north, they looked northward but they did not see him. The man had already gone. Then they ran. "We'll see him going uphill at Waitisawi," they thought to themselves. But they did not see him; he had already gone by. And since they did not see him, they went on running. They went northward uphill, southward uphill from Dula; they came to the ridge to the north and

looked across the canyon, saying, "He'll be going that way." Still they did not see him. Then they ran. They went at a running pace uphill to the north, south of Nosono across the canyon, and when they had gone uphill they suddenly stopped and looked across to the north. But they did not see him. "HaLa (Oh my?) he must be hurrying terribly much," they said. So they ran, they went at a running pace north across the canyon and up Nosono, and then they came to a stop, looking down on the ground; and behold, there were tracks going eastward. And when they saw the tracks they ran toward the east. Then went on and on eastward, they ran, they went rapidly, low in the canyon, running east they came in sight of Rock-house-lowland-walk. There was a creek there; there was running water there. And when they looked there, behold, that was where the man had stopped to drink, dipping water up in Indian rhubarb leaves. And he had left the rhubarb leaves there. Behold there were damp tracks on the ground, he had just gone by that way. They pounced on the rhubarb leaves. Each girl pressed the rhubarb leaves against her heart, put them against her body here and there, because the man had held them in his hands. Then they went on, they went running, they went running northward up the hill; a long way north up the hill, they reached the top where they could see ahead. But when they looked ahead they did not see him. So they ran, they went on at a running pace, going up the mountain. They went on, they kept on going, and when they reached the top they looked to the north here and there. They did not see him who had gone. So they went on running, they kept on going northward at a rapid pace and they arrived in sight of Digger-pine-broken-off-in-front, which was to the east below them. And after they had gone on at a running pace, behold, to the north they saw the man sitting, sitting with his face to the east. And they went fast, they went keeping their eyes on him. One sat down to his north, and one sat down to his south. Then they both put their arms around him, and both said, "Why did you hurry so?" And the man said, "I did not hurry on my way." "We came at a rapid pace, so you must have run," they said. And he said, "No, I didn't." And they both sat there. Then the man said, "I thirst for water. Do go and bring me water, you two." "Where may the water be?" they said. "Here down the hill to the north, there is water in West creek," he said. "And they said, 'You are finding an excuse because you want to go and leave us.' And he said, 'I won't.' He said, 'No, one of you two go and bring the water.' However, they did

not want to go and bring water. Then one said, "Younger sister, you had better go and bring water." Still they were unwilling to go, grudging each other the man. Then the man said to them, "I am thirsty. Hurry and get me water, you two, then we can start on our way." Still they did not want to go. Then he said, "Both of you go. I'll wait for you," he said. And they said, "Younger sister, we'd better go. Don't leave us and go." And he said, "I won't." And they took out the drinking baskets that they had brought along with them, and went. They went running. They went running down the hill toward the north to the creek, and when they got there, they sipped water, they dipped up water and drank it, they dipped up another cupful and brought it running to where the man had sat. But when they brought it, coming southward up the hill, behold the man was not there. Then they said to each other, "You were the one who wanted to go," they said. And the women threw themselves on the ground and wept, and after a while they saw smoke in the east. Then they saw how he went on farther east, doing the same thing. And they wept. "We won't go," they said. They lay there and lay there until afternoon. "We won't go," they said. Finally they sat up. Then they sang:

Ni, ni, ni, ni, ni, ni,
 East and north from Skunk mountain.
 Luṭ'ustini's child,
 Luṭ'ustini's child,
 Goes east and north,
 Along his going
 Smoke rises.
 It hangs over the south.
 Luṭ'ustini's child
 Goes east and north.
 Ni, ni, ni, ni, ni.

Then they went home, they went crying, and reached Campbell's creek.

'26. YIYEHUNENES' BIG TIME (LOVE STORY)*

Right there at Redding lived some people. They were going to call a dance. Those that lived there came together right there in the evening. They came together and conferred. They conferred five nights, they conferred five days. They conferred five more nights, they conferred five more days. Then they conferred ten nights, they

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

conferred ten days. Then they conferred ten more nights, they conferred ten more days. After that they conferred twenty nights, they conferred twenty days. And now they all agreed.

So they invited, they invited all the world; they invited to a dance, they invited to gambling, they invited to a foot race, they invited to a jumping race, they invited to a round dance, they invited to a beauty contest, they invited all the people. So all who had been invited arrived, kept arriving all night long, arrived all day long, the people who had been invited. And a woman was preparing food for the people during the day, she pounded acorns for soup, baked salmon between stones, baked them. Many people came from everywhere.

Now there were two more whom no one would go to invite. They were bashful about the sister and brother. But Yellow Hawk, he went to invite them as he was not bashful. He went and came up to the woman who sat there without her brother. He said, "I came to invite you two," he said. "They are inviting all to a big time." The woman said, "Yes," she said, "we'll come." So Yellow Hawk went back.

Her younger brother who had gone hunting came home. And she told him. "They invited us," she said. He say, "Oh," he said, "Let's go," he said. So they prepared themselves, packed a little of everything to bet when gambling. And in the north many people prepared food in the north.

Now Loon (kiriū) who had two wives slept all day long. The two women carried wood all day. They carried wood until evening. And the people said, "What are they going to do?" they said. "They are carrying much wood." In the night Loon got up. He was going to haul the seine which had been laid for salmon, he alone in the night, all alone. So in the night he hauled in the seine, all alone. He himself held the torch. He caught many salmon in the seine, forty salmon, forty sturgeons he caught. He strung them with wild grape vine and left the salmon in the water near the shore. Then he got through and went out. He lay down and slept. Now the two got up, lighted a fire, made a baking place to bake the salmon. Then day broke. He gave the forty salmon to him who had invited them. Then they baked the forty sturgeons. And some were making the acorn soup.

Now the brother and sister came, the ones who had been invited, the beautiful ones. They were seen coming from the south and the

people looked at them. And they who were preparing food paid no attention to their working for looking at the two who were coming, the beautiful ones. The food was burned, the baskets were charred, the baskets bottoms were charred, for they paid no attention to them but looked at the two. So the two arrived, they arrived, and her younger brother played the grass game. His elder sister played the woman's gambling game. They won all the time, they never lost. In the meantime, some danced, others did the round dance, others ran in the foot race, others wrestled. And the food was spoiled, as they who were preparing it stared at the two.

The big time lasted long. Many wanted to talk with the woman. But they hung back. Coyote wanted to talk with her ⁶⁰but did not do so. He was bashful. And he, Yellow Hawk, the one who had invited them, talked with the woman every evening. She talked only with him, she did not want to talk with anyone else. They had a big time for ten days, they had a big time for ten nights. Then it was over and they departed. Yellow Hawk married that woman. When it was over they departed too.

27. PINE SQUIRREL AND FROG WOMAN*

Pine Squirrel lived on the McCloud river with his mother and father. A girl from Stillwater heard about this young man and she went north to live with him. She took everything along in her basket. She reached his house. She sat outside. Old Woman asked her in and gave her food to eat. Then she went to the earth lodge where her son was and told him that a woman had come. She said, "You had better come out of the earth lodge." He would not come out. So the girl stayed the whole day, still the young man did not come; so the next day she left.

Then another girl came. The same thing happened again, after waiting for a day she went home too. This continued for a long while.

Now one girl came from the east. She had a beautiful hopper and a carrying basket. She had gathered buck-brush acorns. She had gathered mountain bunch grass (squaw grass?) and rolled it into soft silky balls. She had this to wipe her hands on. She had another basket to wash in. She brought everything. She brought them to the house and set them down, and then she sat down outside. Old Woman

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

saw the things and took them into the house. She knew they were for her. Old Man never said a word to the women who came; he just lay with his back to the fire. When the girl entered the house the old woman said, "A girl has come." Old Man got up and looked at her from across the fire. He got the tender meat on the inner side of deer ribs and told his wife to roast it for her. While he was cutting up the meat Old Woman went to get her son. She said, "Come eat, come eat with her; she is very pretty." Then she left.

Old Man gave his wife the meat he had cut up; Old Woman took acorn soup from the girl's basket; and then the young man came. They all ate together. That night they all slept together in one house. Young Fellow did not go to the earth lodge any more. He would get up early in the morning and go hunting. Young Fellow brought in deer; he brought in deer several times. The girl stayed three days. One day she was going to pound acorns. Old Man went for wood because he liked her. Young Fellow went out to hunt. She took her hopper and set it on a rock and pounded brush acorns. She pounded, and pounded, and pounded. She put her meal in a shallow basket and Old Woman came to help her sift it. The girl pounded and the old woman sifted. The coarse part of the meal dropped down. The girl heard it fall and the old woman put the coarse part back in the hopper. Then the girl got up and went home. She was ashamed not to have pounded the acorns fine enough.

That night the young man brought home deer. The old people looked for the girl. They did not know what had become of her. The old woman said, "She got up and went away without finishing the acorns we were pounding."

The next morning the young man got up early to go hunt deer. That night he brought deer home again. He lay on one side of the fire thinking. He wondered which way she had gone. The next morning he got up early and went to swim; he ate breakfast, and said, "I'm going. I'm going to follow her." So he went. He went, and went, and went. He came to where the girl lived. He stayed there with her. She told him why she had gone away. She said, "I was ashamed because I couldn't pound acorns fine enough."

After a while he went back home. She did not go with him.

28. DON'T CRY, MY YOUNGER BROTHER*

⁶¹In the first world there lived a man who had two grown daughters and one boy who was a cry-boy. He cried all the time, night and day he cried. His mother could not make him stop. All the people went into the earth lodge. They wondered that the baby cried without stopping. Finally they could not stand the crying any more so all went away down south and left the family. The two sisters took care of the cry-boy; one cared for him at night and the other one during the day. The baby grew but there was no one left; all the people had gone down south, only the mother, and father, and sisters were left. At last even the father left. He could not stand the crying. Then the mother bathed the baby, put him in his basket, and said to the two girls, "The baby has frightened all the people away. Now we must leave him." Then she took the two girls by the hand and started to go away, but the two sisters turned back. They sat on either side of the basket and sang to the baby. They said, "Little brother, don't cry; you have frightened away all the people," thus they sang. They showed the baby beads to make him stop crying, but he just kept on crying all the time. They made strings of acorn cups to amuse him, but he kept on crying. All the time, however, he was growing fast.

After a while the people who had been frightened away heard about the sisters. They said, "They are good girls. We must call them down here to see what kind of man they are bringing up." The brother and sisters had grown. The people called them to come and visit them. They dressed in their best things, they dressed their brother well and gave him a bow and arrows, an otter skin quiver, everything. Then they packed food in a carrying basket and went. They came to where the people were camped. They were frightened. They stood fixed, just like deer. They thought the boy was fine-looking. The father and mother came up too and looked at him. The brother and sisters camped by themselves a short distance from the others. When they were ready to go home the mother and father did not go with them.

The boy hunted for his sisters. His sisters gave him beads. They embraced him and cried but they were only playing with him. One

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

night he slept soundly. They bathed him and tied him in a basket. One of the sisters slept with the basket in her arms. The boy wiggled loose and got out of the basket. He stretched and listened. He wished that his sisters would sleep soundly until he returned. Then he went to a lucky spring. He went into the water, dived far under. Underneath there were people. They said, "Nephew, we have expected you." They gave him the best of everything they had, then they said, "Good-bye, you are growing," they said.

When the boy reached home he found his sisters still asleep. He made a good fire and sat on the other side of it. He dried his hair, whipping it with a stick. A drop fell on the face of one of the sisters. The older one who had slept with the basket woke up. She felt that the basket was empty. She looked around and saw a grown man, then she said, "You strange man, you have killed my little brother." Her brother answered, "Don't cry, I am your brother." The cry-boy had become a handsome man.

One of the sisters had her menstrual period. The brother took a basket full of beads and rolled it to the lucky spring, he rolled it into the water and it made a trail like a wagon road. Then he swam again, dived down into the water, and never came back. He was frightened because his sister had menstruated.

'29. SEHINOMTABAT*

They came into being and dwelt there together, grandmother and grandson. Then after they had stayed there, and stayed there, a war dance was called. And they called him, "Come we are going to fight," they said. But he did not go. Then he spoke to his grandmother, "I shall go. I am called to a big time," he said. His grandmother did not want to let him go. "Don't go, grandson. It's no good there," she said. "You might die," she said. Nevertheless he made arrows. For some days, for five days, he got himself ready. And the people invited him, many people were to go. Many people were going. "Let's go," they said to him, "you are invited to come, you are invited to the big time," they said. (Receiving no answer, they said among themselves,) "Just the same it is said that a man has come into being, that there is a man named *Shinomtabat* who has come into being," they said. Then they all heard that he was a fighter.

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

He said, "I am going, grandmother. You stay." The old woman wept, did not want to let him go. "You might die, grandson. They'll kill each other," she said. However he left, he kept on going to the south lowland, he went, and went, kept on going, for four days he went. Going like this he approached one party, he approached another party farther ahead, he approached another party farther ahead, then he came to a crowd and walked among them. And there close by in the south lowland they saw many people. There they sat and rested a while, then they went on the north side of the hill in the afternoon. Then as they went they saw that they were already fighting in the lowland to the south. They all went on. In the lowland to the south those who had gone before were fighting. And they said, "He is coming, he is coming, Schinomtabat. See that you kill him first before the rest."

He went, and went, and went, and went, walking in the midst of the people he went, after having gone around to the west side of the hill. And they who were farther south had come to shoot at each other. And they said, "Kill Schinomtabat first before the rest." Then they shot, the ones in the south shot at Schinomtabat. And he dodged them, he dodged the shots.

⁶²Now the old woman in the house heard a call in her ear. "My grandson must be in danger," she said. And as he was coming on he was suddenly surrounded. But he dodged when they shot at him, and they kept hitting the ground. And she, his grandmother, said, "Fly up, fly up toward the sky, grandson. Fly up, fly up toward the sky." And he, when they shot at him, flew up, and alighted to the west, alighted to the east, so that the arrows went east under him, went west under him. And Schinomtabat killed every one of them, every one of the people. He killed them and came this way, came on, kept on coming, came on, came on, coming down from the south across the stream, he crossed north, and came this way late in the evening.

And the people from the north came south, five of them. They came south up the hill. The old woman sat there at South-uphill-front-bone. And the five came to the old woman there. And they said, "Where has Schinomtabat gone?" She said, "He left some time ago; he was invited to go south to the lowland." Then they all, the ones who had come, talked among themselves. Then they got up as if to go. Then they shot at the old woman and killed her. Then they went into the house. They stole all kinds of things. Then they took them outside, made them into packs, and got on the trail and

went on. They went east, they went east there carrying on their backs what they had stolen.

Schinomtabat was coming. He heard them coming from the west and talking among themselves. Schinomtabat crossed the trail and stood above it on the north side. They were saying, "Schinomtabat will be coming. Shoot at him." Tnd Schinomtabat heard them. "Shoot at him. Kill him," he heard them say.

They came on with loads on their backs, so, holding the tumpline cord down on both sides of the head, they came, some came in sight from the west. They came in sight of the east, there where Schinomtabat was standing. And one of them, loaded though he was, saw him standing thus, saw Schinomtabat. "Shoot at him," he said. And he came on the trail in front of them. That one said, "We stopped at your grandmother's. She is sitting there. She is looking for you, your grandmother. See our packs, your grandmother gave them to us," he said. "She didn't want to, so she traded them," he said. And some said, "Shoot at him," they said, "shoot at him. What is the matter with you, shoot at him." When they were about to shoot, Schinomtabat went among them, and shot at them instead, killed them, finished them all. Then he went home, and behold, he saw his grandmother lying dead. He stood looking at her a while, then he went down the hill northward to the water, he arrived down there at Blood-clot-water. He arrived down there and washed his hands. Then he went away and turned into something else. And it has been transformed.

30. BAT AND GREY SQUIRREL WOMEN*

Bat went hunting early every morning. He told his women, "My relatives and I are going hunting, so you had better make some acorn soup." When he returned in the evening he brought only the fat from around the internal organs of the deer. "Oh," he would say, "They gave me only the fat because there were so many of us. I like fat and you both do too, so I guess it is all right." Every day the same thing happened. The two women became tired of eating only fat. They said to their husband, "Can't you get a piece of real meat?" Then he would answer, "Maybe next time they will give me meat."

* Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

One day his two wives decided to follow him. They saw him go off all alone to a small gulch. There he put down his bow and arrows, took off his clothes, and flew back and forth over the little gulch saying, "Xut, xut, xut, xut, xut." ⁶³Then he lay on a bed he had prepared, opened his abdomen, extracted the fat around his intestines, and laid it to one side. The two women were disgusted with what they had seen and went home. After they had left, Bat put pitch in his abdomen where the fat had been and sealed himself up. He picked up his fat and started home with it. The two women saw him coming and knew he had lied to them about what a good hunter he was, just to keep them with him. "We won't eat his intestines," they said, and ran away. They climbed up a pine tree in which was Yellow Hawk. He married the two women.

Bat set out to track his wives. ⁶⁴He arrived at the foot of the pine tree and saw what had happened. He was very jealous and shouted up, "I am going to shoot you women. I don't see how you can have anything to do with that old Yellow Hawk." His two wives answered, "All right, we are afraid. We shall come down right away. Look up. Don't you see we are coming down?" Each one had a ball of soft pitch in her hand. "Yes, you had better come down or I'll shoot you," Bat said. "Look up at us carefully or we'll fall," they called to him. He looked up and they threw the pitch on his eyes and sealed them. He was blinded and ran around and around. The two women escaped. Bat was furious. At last he felt around under the pine tree and got two needles. He stuck one in each eye, boring a hole in the pitch so that he could just see. He worked, and worked, and worked until he had made the holes a little bigger and he could look around. His two wives were gone and he had lost them. That is why Bat has such small eyes today.

31. TREE SQUIRREL AND BUZZARD*

Buzzard had two wives, who were the Chipmunk sisters. They had lived a long time in the same place and Buzzard was getting old. Nearby along the river there lived some people who speared salmon. Buzzard, who knew where the salmon house was, went there and lay down under a tree. In a short while the one who had been watching the salmon house came out and said, "Uncle, are you lying there? The salmon haven't been running since you came. Perhaps it is

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

on account of the cold weather." Old Buzzard answered, "Stop quarreling with me. I didn't come here to have anyone quarrel with me." The young man said, "I wasn't quarreling with you. I just said the salmon weren't running because it is cold. They were running very well a short time ago. I guess I had better go back in the house and watch." Old Buzzard replied, "I didn't tell you to come out and quarrel. I'll throw you in the river." The young man went into the salmon house. Soon a big salmon swam past. He speared it, pulled it out, and went to Buzzard saying, "I've caught a big fish. Get wood and start a fire. We'll have something to eat." Buzzard growled, "Yes, quarrel with me! I didn't come here to be quarreled with." But he went anyway to get wood to start a fire. The young man said, "Cut up the salmon and roast it, then we'll eat." And he went back into the salmon house. The young man caught three more salmon. They were nice big ones. When he went out Old Buzzard was already eating. The young man sat down and they ate together. He remarked, "Those three salmon are fat, I guess we'll be getting fat salmon from now on." Buzzard only growled, "Don't quarrel with me. I'll put you in the fire and stamp on you."

Buzzard stayed at the salmon house all night. The next morning the young man got up early, went in the salmon house, caught three more salmon, and then went to Buzzard to ask him to make a fire and cook the fish. Buzzard gave his usual answer, "Stop quarreling! I'll throw you in the river." The young man paid no attention to his remarks but returned to the fish house and soon caught five more salmon. When he went outside with them he found that Buzzard had already cooked the fish and was eating. After breakfast the young man said to Buzzard, "Take this salmon home if you want to." "Stop quarreling with me or I'll throw you in the fire and stamp on you," he answered. Then he got ready to carry the salmon home. He was so small and his load was so big that the salmon protruded far over his head. As he was leaving the young man said, "Uncle, you must come back. I'll have more salmon soon." All that Buzzard said was, "Stop quarreling. I'll throw you in the river."

This was in the springtime.

Both of Buzzard's wives were sitting in front of their house hunting lice on each other's heads. They looked north and saw Buzzard coming with a load of salmon. The one who was hunting lice in the other's hair said, "Look, our husband is bringing something on his back for us." Buzzard called out, "If you think this is

for you, you are mistaken." The two women arose and said, "Yes, look at our husband bringing us salmon when we have no wood." The younger sister said, "Older sister, you had better go gather some wood," so the older sister went. They had plenty of acorn soup ready, though. Buzzard threw down his load of salmon and the younger sister untied them. Buzzard said, ⁶⁵"You needn't be so glad. That salmon isn't for you." The older sister brought the wood, made a fire and heated rocks to bake the salmon. Buzzard insisted, "I am going to eat that salmon all by myself. You aren't going to have a taste." The two women paid no attention to what he was saying. They baked the salmon. Buzzard said, "Now you go and eat grass." It was just about sundown. He grumbled, and grumbled, and grumbled. At last they began to believe what he said. They were surprised. Once more he repeated, "Don't think you are going to have any of this salmon. Go eat grass." So older sister said, "All right, sister, let's go eat some grass." They went into the house and talked to the acorn soup and all the food they had stored away. They told it to disappear after they had left. Then they went out to look for some grass. Buzzard just growled, "Go away."

The two sisters went west. They went, and went, and went. Finally they came to a place and stayed there.

After they had left, Buzzard prepared to eat. He went into the house to look for the acorn soup but he could not find any. He then gorged on salmon alone. When he had had enough to eat, he began to think about his wives. He called and called for them. "Come home," he said. When he received no answer, he lay down to sleep saying, "Go on then, I don't care." But he could not sleep. He got up every now and then and called to them. Then he thought to himself, "One has a vulva like the loop of a fish net. The other has a vulva like the California kangaroo." Then he called, and called, and called, "Where are you women?" He said to himself, "My old heart is too quick-tempered." He fumed all night. In the morning he called for his wives again, and again he spoke of them as he had during the night. Buzzard just called for his wives, he did not go out to hunt for them as long as his salmon lasted. When he had eaten up all his salmon it was early summer. Then he set out to hunt for his wives. He went everywhere asking people if they had seen his two wives. At last when the pine-nuts were ripening he came to a place in the west near Trinity Center. There were few people in the village. Everyone was out gathering pine-nuts. Those

who were there said that they had not seen his wives. He went, and went, and went. He looked far west up into the mountains. He saw big columns of smoke that looked like forest fires. He went toward them and finally came to the places where the people were heating the pine cones. He asked them if they had seen his wives and they answered, "No." He traveled on, always asking for news of his two women. When he came to the last group of people they said, "Yes, we have seen your wives. Look over there across the canyon. That is where they are gathering pine-nuts." So Buzzard crossed the canyon and climbed the ridge. As he approached he recognized his wives' voices. There was a man in the tree who was knocking the cones down. He called out, "Are the nuts good?" and the wives would look and answer, "Yes, they are fine." Buzzard got out his bow, put some arrows in his mouth and started up the last bit of the ridge. The two women saw him coming. They called up the tree to the man, "Our husband is coming after us. We are going to go and hide." Then they ran off.

⁶⁶ The man in the tree was Tree Squirrel. He climbed down the tree until he found a crotch in which to hide. Buzzard saw him there and shot, and shot, and shot at him, but he always missed. He came very close and aimed slowly and carefully, but still he would miss. At last he had only one arrow left. He looked up to take careful aim. As he stood there looking up, Tree Squirrel took two balls of pine pitch and threw them into Buzzard's eyes. A ball of pitch landed on each eye and Buzzard fell over backward. Tree Squirrel climbed down and ran away. Buzzard just lay there and called for help. Late in the afternoon someone came and tried to take the pitch off. It would not come. At last he took a sharp pine needle and worked on the eyelids until Buzzard could open his eyes. When he opened his eyes he said, "I see mountains everywhere. Let this place be called Where-pitch-is-thrown."

Tree Squirrel joined the two women and they went westward.

32. HUIK*

There were many Indians living together. Huik (Nighthawk?) was awfully dirty. He smelled so that the others would not let him live near them. He lived across the creek. Huik was married to Toad woman. He never went hunting. He went every day to gather wood. He fired trees.

The others who lived across the creek had a chief called Kidipaṭewi. They went hunting all the time. When they killed deer they called to Huik to come and eat. They would give him a little fawn. He skinned it and took it home. He never hunted. He lived apart from the others. He did not know how to hunt. He was lazy. He only gathered wood. This went on for a long time.

One afternoon two women came to where Huik was firing trees. They had come to see Kidipaṭewi. They met Huik first. He was firing a tree. They wanted to talk to him but they felt bashful. Huik noticed them and talked to them. So finally they asked where they could find Kidipaṭewi. Then he said, "It would not be modest for me to tell you that I am he, tell you that that is my name." Then the women told him to spit. Kidipaṭewi always spat dentalia. So Huik spat, he spat shells. Then they believed he was Kidipaṭewi. He told them to wait there for him. He went to his house and said to the old woman, "Two women have come. They like me; they have come to see me. You must make believe you are my mother." Toad woman said she would go away but Huik said that if she would not pretend to be his mother he would kill her. So she said, "All right." Then he went inside and got two bear hides, and hung them in front of his earth lodge. He stretched them out on poles in front of the house. Then he went to get the two women. He said, "My mother is there." They went back to his house with him and called Toad woman mother-in-law.

Soon the people on the other side of the creek called to him to come and eat. He went, got his fawn, and took the fawn hams back for his mother to cook. He said, "There are so many eating over there that I could not bring much back. They don't know how to handle meat," he said.

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

The next morning he went hunting for the first time. The other people said, "Something must be wrong." He told his mother to pound acorns and not let the two women fetch water or gather acorns. The two women went to the spring anyhow. There were many children playing there. One baby cried and as she cried shells came from her mouth. The baby was Kidipaṭewi's. They picked up the baby and took it to Kidipaṭewi's house.

That night when Huik came home he found that the two women had left. He killed old Toad woman, burned his house. He destroyed everything. The other people said, "He must be mad."

After the other people had feasted on meat, they danced; they danced the round dance. Huik came. He was very angry. He wanted to shoot Kidipaṭewi. All the people stood in a circle around Kidipaṭewi to keep Huik from shooting at him with his bow and arrow. Huik tried to see Kidipaṭewi but he could not. All the people stood around him. Finally he spied Kidipaṭewi's ankle. He shot him through the ankle and Kidipaṭewi fell in the fire and was burned up. Then all the people tried to catch Huik but he was too quick at dodging. He started down toward Stillwater. They were shooting at him but he dodged. He came to Bear mountain and dodged into a hole. The people began a fire to burn him out. They fanned smoke into the hole. Suddenly they saw him way upon the hill picking his whiskers. They went after him, and again he dodged into the hole. They returned to the hole and again he got out; so half stayed near the hole and half turned up the hill. He dodged out of the hole, up the hill and back again. Then they started digging out the rocks, but they could not get at him. They gave up. So they called the place Digging-out-rock-south-point.

'33. WINIWINIT AND ⁶⁸SUPTIT^{*69}

Five men came into being. They went to hunt deer, all killed deer, all brought them slung on their backs. They brought them to the house and they all ate. Then they went to bed, and the next morning they got up, they got up, and ate. Then they hunted. They went hunting every day. After a while one of them married two women, two sisters. They stayed there and after a while one of them, the elder one, had a child; it was a boy, the little one. And one of the men, the eldest one, got very old. He made himself an earth

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

lodge and stayed there. And they went hunting deer, all of them killed many, and brought them slung on their backs, brought them to the house. And they went to call him who was in the earth lodge to feed him. "Old man, come. We'll eat. We killed deer," they said. And the old man said, "I don't want to eat. You eat the faeces deer, (deer caught close by the house). So he did not go. He lay there and the next day again they brought deer home. And when they were about to eat they said, "Old man, come. We'll eat venison." But he did not come. "You eat the faeces deer. I don't want to eat," he said, and he did not go. Again they all went to bed, then got up the next morning, and went hunting. They went hunting, went up on the ridge to the north. And they killed deer. But one of them just went on, shot at deer but did not kill any. He went north, kept going along on the ridge to the north. Then he shot at a deer standing there across the canyon. But he did not kill it. So he went and went, climbing to the northwest along the ridge. He went a long way uphill toward the west, got up there, and sat down. He sat there a little while, and then he saw a person coming from the west, and behold, he was a tall, fearful man. He came on and came up in front of him. "Hello," he said, "where have you come from, old man?" he said. The other said, "I am hunting." "You seem to be strong," he said. "Let's wrestle," he said. "I don't want to wrestle," said the other. However, "No, let's wrestle," he said. Then they go up and wrestled. And Sup̄it killed him. Then he slit him down the front. He took out his heart and took it to his house there in the west.

Now the rest of them who had killed deer brought them home to the house, but one of them did not come home. One went to the earth lodge and told the old man. "My elder brother has not come home," he said. "What can be the matter?" he said. Then they all went to bed and the next morning they go up and ate and he went to the earth lodge and told the old man, "My elder brother is not come home," he said. "I'll go seek him," he said. "Yes," said the old man to him. So he went, kept on going, went tracking, went on, and at noon came in view of the west slope. And he found the one who had been killed; behold, he who had been killed lay there slit down the front with his heart pounded. So he sat there a while and then Sup̄it came from the west. He came up to him. "From where do you come?" he said. Then he sat down, he sat down and they talked. After they had sat a while he said, "You look strong," he said, "Let's wrestle," he said to him. And he got hold of him, he

took hold of him, and pulled him up. But the other did not want to fight. Still he pulled him up. He fought him. Then he killed him, took out his heart and took it to his house.

Now all the rest of them came home to the house. And one of them did not come home. One went to the earth lodge and told the old man. "My elder brother has not come home. Something must have seen him," he said. And the old man cried, "Winiwini, winiwini." So he went, kept on going, kept on going, and going, went and went, and at noon came right there in view of the west slope, looked about, and behold, his two elder brothers lay dead. He stood there crying. Then he sat down there on some stones. He sat crying. And from the west he saw the tall one coming. He had tied his hair high with something red, he had tied his long hair with red-headed woodpecker scalps. He came, and came up to him. But the other sat crying. "What are you crying for?" he said. However, he sat crying. And though the other talked to him he said nothing. So he said, "Why don't you speak to me?" He said to him, "Let's wrestle." But he did not want to wrestle with him. Just the same he took hold of his arm, pulled him up, although he was unwilling to get up. Just the same the tall one pulled him up. Then he fought him, killed him, flayed off his heart, and took it home.

Now the one person who was left took the deer home slung on his back. He went, they got through eating, he alone, the married one, he alone. He went to the earth lodge and spoke to the old man. "My elder brother has not come home," he said. "Something must have seen him," he said. And the old man cried, "Winiwini, winiwini," he said. They all went to bed and the next morning he went and spoke to the old man, "I'll go track them. If I find them, I won't come home this evening and you'll know that I have been killed," he said. And the old man cried, "Winiwini, winiwini," he said. Then the other went, went tracking, went on, kept on going, kept on going, came at noon in sight of the slope to the west and behold, his elder brothers lay dead. He sat crying. He sat there and then he saw how he came from the west. He came up to him. "What are crying for?" he said. But he did not answer. So he sat there and said to him, "Let's fight," he said. "I don't want to," he said. However, he took hold of his arm, pulled him up even though he was unwilling to fight. However, he pulled him up, and fought him, and killed him, and after he had killed him, he flayed off his heart as before, and took it home.

So it got dark, but he did not come home. And the woman went to the earth lodge, stood there outside, and spoke, "Old man, the one who has gone has not come home," she said. "He must have been killed by something," she said. And the old man cried and cried, then took his own weapons from up there where the beams of the earth lodge meet, took down the weapons. And he worked and worked, made all kinds of arrows with the materials which he had on hand. He put all kinds of things into a carrying net, a stick with a barbed hook, a club, a curved stick, many other things he put all into the sack, he filled it with them, then he took a little tobacco and a pipe. These he put into the quiver. And early in the morning he went, he went to search. He kept on going, kept on going, he went, he went, saying, "Winiwini, winiwini." He crossed to the north and came in sight of the slope to the north. "Winiwini, here my younger brother must have seen deer, winiwini," he said. And he went on. "Here my younger brother must have stopped to urinate," he said. So he went on, he went, and went. "Here my younger brother must have knelt and braced himself to shoot at a deer, he must have shot at it," he said. And he went on, kept on going, went above and came right there in sight of the slope to the west. And behold, they lay dead all over the ground, and he stood crying. "Here my younger brother must have sat down," he said, "on the stones." Then he sat down right there. He sat there crying, and then the other was seen coming from the west. He came up to him. "Hello, old man," he said. And he did not answer. "Why don't you talk to me, old man?" he said. Then he sat down. "Old man, bring tobacco. Let's smoke," he said. "Winiwini, winiwini, winiwini, when you get to be as old as I am, you'll smoke tobacco with chiefs," said the old man. "What are you winiwini-ing about? Bring tobacco. Let's smoke," he said. "When you get to be almost as old as I am, you'll have tobacco to give chiefs to smoke," he said. And he sat there. Then Suptit got out some tobacco which he had in a carrying net, took it out and filled the pipe. Then he smoked, Suptit first. Then he gave it to Winiwinit. "Old man, smoke my tobacco," he said. And he said, "Winiwini, when you get to be as old as I, you will smoke in the company of chiefs." "Smoke my tobacco, old man," he said. "Let's smoke," he said. But he did not want to smoke. However, he put it into his hand. And Winiwinit took the pipe. He took it like this in his hands, and destroyed it, and when it fell to the ground, the fragments flew up in a cloud,

only dust was left. "My, you broke me my pipe, old man," he said. "It didn't like my hand," said the other. "Fill your own pipe with tobacco, old man," he said. "I have no tobacco," said the other. And Suptit said, "Come, old man, bring your bow, let me see it." "When you get to be as old as I, you'll show your bow to chiefs," said the other, "Winiwini, winiwini." "I don't like this way of yours. Don't winiwini; talk to me," he said. "Come on old man, look at my bow," he said. "I don't want to take hold of it," said the other. "I don't want to see your bow," he said. However, he put it in his hand. "Take it," he said. But he did not want to take it. And Suptit said, "Take it, take it, look at my bow." And he put it into his hand, and the other took it, took it, and destroyed it, and it fell to the ground broken up into fragments. "Old man, you broke me my bow," he said. "It dislikes my hand, so it broke," he said. And Suptit did not know what to do. So Suptit said, "Bring your tobacco. Let's smoke, old man." And he, the old man, got out his tobacco and his pipe. Then the old man filled the pipe. He puffed at it a little and gave it to Suptit. And Suptit smoked, smoked, and while drawing in smoke, he choked. Suptit almost died. Twice he gasped while smoking, he almost gasped for breath. And he said to Winiwinit, "Your tobacco is terrible," he said, "it makes me sick." And Suptit bit and bit the pipe but the pipe was hard. Then he struck the pipe against those stones. Yet it would not break. So he gave it to the old man. "Come on, bring your bow; let me see it," he said. "When you get to be as old as I, you'll show your bow to chiefs, when you grow almost as old as I," he said. Nevertheless he gave him the bow. And Suptit took it and pulled it to himself and drew it thus, wishing to break it in two, wishing to break the bow. But he could not destroy the old man's bow. Then he threw it down on the ground and stepped on it with his feet, pulled it to himself and threw it down, on wood, on stones, but he could not destroy it. "Your bow is good, old man," he said, "here it is. Old man, I don't know what we should do next," he said. "Old man, let's wrestle," he said. "When you get to be as old as I, you'll wrestle with chiefs," he said. "Old man, you seem strong," he said. "When you get to be as old as I, you'll be strong," said Winiwinit. "No, old man, let's wrestle." But he did not want to. He went right up to him, grasped his arm, and said, "Get up, old man, let's wrestle." The old man would not get up. And Suptit sat coaxing him. Then he pulled him up, in the afternoon. He pulled him up, but still he did not

get up. However, he pulled him up. "Put your arms around me, old man; put your arms around me," he said. "When you get to be as old as I, you'll wrestle with chiefs," he said. "Winiwini, winiwini, winiwini." "I don't like the way you go winiwini-ing," said Suptit. "Put your arms around me, old man," he said. So the other put his arms there around his leg. "No, old man, here, a little farther up; put your arms around me." And the other put his arms around his knee. "No, no, farther up, put your arms around me," he said. But the old man did not want to put his arms around him farther up. Still he said, "A little farther up; put your arms around me." And the old man rose higher and put his arms around him. "Right down here, let me put my arms around you," he said. "No, farther up, farther up, here, put your arms around me," he said. However he did not do so, he did not want to put his arms around him farther up. But Suptit took hold of his arms and put them around himself. "Here, old man, let's wrestle. Put your arms around me," he said. And he put his arms around him, the old man now put his arms around him, here, around the waist. And when the old man put his arms around him he almost bent his ribs, the old man was strong. And Suptit put his arms around him planning to knock him down, trying to knock the old man down. But the old man held him and they moved each other back and forth; they were fighting now. They held each other and the old man held him hard, he hurt Suptit. And he said, "Old man, that's enough. Let's stop. You are strong." But the old man would not let go. He held him fast. "That will do," he said, "old man, that's enough. Let's stop." And as the old man held him fast, he bent his ribs as he held him fast. And blood came from Suptit's mouth. "Let's stop," Suptit kept saying. So they fought, he kept on fighting him, he kept on fighting him quite a while, they fought long. They fought, and Suptit gave out. They fought and the old man got Suptit fagged out, and then he spoke to the things in the carrying net. "Hey, you, there. I am doing something great. Lie there and look on!" And they swarmed out, and they helped him fight. The club clubbed his ankle. And the drill drilled there on his leg. And the barbed hook hooked out flesh, and the hooked stick hooked his hair up there, got hold of the knot, and pulled it down. Thus they helped him fight, and after they had fought and pulled him down, they made Suptit fall, they killed him. He killed him, and now he put them all into the carrying net. Then he went to Suptit's dwelling. He went and came to Suptit's

dwelling and behold, there sat a woman and children. Then he went to the earth lodge and there, left above there where the beams of the earth lodge meet, were the hearts of his younger brothers, all of them. The old man took them, then killed Supt̄it's children and his wife, all of them. Then he took the hearts home. ⁷⁰He brought them and held them over boiling water. Then he resuscitated them; the hearts came to life, they were people again. But they were others who came to life. And it has been transformed.

34. MICE AND OTHERS*

Once all the animals were people. They went north to fight the people up there. They did not want to tell ⁷¹Skunk because he was a tattletale. They said, "Don't tell Skunk. He is no good. We don't want to take him along." Then they started north. They went a way and then camped. The next morning they started again. They went, and went, and went. When they came near to the place up north they danced and danced. They practised dancing the arrowhead dance. Then they went on again. They said, "We are getting close." The people up north were having a big time, they were dancing all kinds of dances. That is why the people from the south went up. They wanted to get them while they were all together. Ground Squirrel said, "I'll go on ahead and spy on them." So he went on alone. He came to a ridge under which the other people were having a dance. He peeped over the ridge under which the other people were having a dance. He peeped over the ridge and looked all around. He did not know which way to get down. By and by he saw two rocks close together. He stood between them and looked through. Some of the dancers spied him and said, "That looks like someone up there." Others said, "No, that has been there all the time." The first ones said, "No, that is a spy." So they watched him. When Ground Squirrel thought that they had taken their eyes off him he jumped back and returned to his people. When he got back to his people he said, "I am almost sure they saw me. There are too many people down there. They are sure to see things." This was Ground Squirrel.

Next Sunfish decided to go. The rest told him he would be seen. He answered, "If they see me and kill me I won't be back." While he was on his way he heard from the south, "Pu-wu-wu." He looked back and saw Skunk coming, dressed in all his finery. He was

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

walking along swinging his beads and other valuables. Sunfish saw him arrive where the other people were encamped. They were angry and said, "Now we will be discovered."

Ground Squirrel had told Sunfish that there was only one place from which to spy. So Sunfish hunted for the crevice between the two rocks and from there peered down on the people who were dancing. The same thing happened which had happened before. Some looked up and said they were being spied upon; others denied it. Finally someone said, "Take a shot at it. If it is a person it will move." So they began shooting. An arrow landed right in front of Sunfish and broke. Many shot while others watched. Someone said, "Shoot higher." Sunfish saw an arrow coming straight at him. It seemed as though it would strike his forehead, so he raised his fin and it went right through it. At last the people decided that there was no one up there and went on with their dancing. Sunfish went home. He told them, "They suspected that I was there. They shot at me."

Skunk said, "You people didn't want me to come. Now you let me go to spy on them." They all told him not to go. "You will get killed," they said. He went anyhow, just before sunset. He went, and went, and went. He arrived at dusk and walked right up to the place where they were dancing. A short distance from the dancers was a house in which two old women were lying by the fire, sleeping. They heard something scratching around the basket.⁷² They took the basket away and Skunk walked in and sat on the fire log. They were surprised. They asked, "Who are you? What are you doing here when all the people are outside dancing? Why don't you go and dance?" "Dance," he said, "We came to kill you people. There are many people on their way here to kill you." Then he said, "I have been sent out to spy on you. You had better run away. If you don't I'll put you two in this basket and take you home with me." They answered, "Yes, if you were going to do anything like that you wouldn't tell it. Go on away. You aren't worth bothering with. Go dance." Skunk insisted, "I'm telling you the truth." He repeated his threat.

Skunk went out to where the dancers were. He stood behind them and said, "My! this is a good-looking woman." They just answered, "Go away; don't bother us, you old stinking thing." "Stink," he said, "Why, I came up to make war on you." He kept telling the people, "My! but there are many of us! We are going

to kill you all tomorrow." They did not pay any attention to him. They just said, "You stink." So finally he went away. Later in the evening they began wondering what had become of Skunk.

Mouse, who was one of the people who had come up from the south, said he was going out to spy. "Don't expect me back until tomorrow. Don't shoot me by mistake when I come back." So he set out. He came to a house in which there were some women. The men were outside dancing. Mouse got on a basket and looked at them. They saw him and said, "Look, a mouse. He wants to steal." They did not pay any further attention to him. ⁷³He chewed the bow-strings almost through so that they would break when the bows were pulled. Then he took some beads and went on to the next house. He did the same thing in all the houses. Then he went into the earth lodge and did the same thing. He got many beads there too. He stayed hidden way back in the earth lodge.

Just before daybreak the people from the south surrounded the dancers and began shooting at them. When they saw their danger they ran to get their bows. They would draw them and the strings would snap. They all said, "I have broken my string and I am the best shot." The people from the south killed everyone. Skunk went to the house where the two old women were and he put them in his basket to take them home. "I told you what would happen and you wouldn't believe me," he said. Mouse came out of the earth lodge with a big load of beads.

Then they all went home.

'35. GROSBEAK AND THE DEER*

Mountain Lion married Grosbeak woman. They had two children. She had a mountain lion child. Then she had a grosbeak child too. He took after his mother.

Mountain Lion hunted deer all the time. He brought them home and prepared them. So they ate venison. He made the fat into a nice ball. He gave it to his own child to play with. The grosbeak child had nothing to play with. At last he said good-bye to his mother. "I'm going," he said. "North," he said, "to grandfather's," he said. So he went, he was on his way all day, and in the evening he arrived at his grandfather's. And they were happy, his grandfather was happy, his grandmother was happy that her grandson

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

had come. And they made things and gave them to him, gave him weapons. And he stayed there playing, he stayed there ten winters. So he grew up and hunted deer, he killed deer all the time, he did not go far, he went a little way, and killed them, without going far. Then he got tired of this and wanted to go far. So when he got home that evening he said to his grandfather, "I want to go far to hunt." And his grandfather said, "It is no good, grandson," he said. So the next day Grosbeak got up, got up early in the morning. And he left, going to hunt. He went to North-uphill-mountain, he went a little before noon. Though he saw deer tracks he saw no deer. ⁷⁴So he followed some large tracks. He tracked them all around the mountain. He saw a deer which he had startled, a large deer. He had tracked it all around the mountain to exactly the spot where he had started and until about sunset he went tracking. It was almost evening. And the deer went down the hill westward; he tracked it and while he tracked it it grew dark. And before him he saw a house and there was smoke rising from the fire within. So he went and came to the house and someone said, "Come in. Put food before him, soup, jerked venison, give him to eat," he said. Then they talked together before they went to bed. They talked together for some time and then they went to bed and slept. Early in the morning when he woke up he did not see the house; he woke up in the midst of brush. He got up and measured tracks and came on tracking. All day long he followed it northward downhill (i.e., toward the Klamath drainage); he followed it in the mountains, in bad rocky brushy ground; he crossed a deep creek following, tracking it northward downhill. All day long he tracked it. It kept him tracking until late. When it was evening he saw a house before him. He went and came up to it. Thus he was punished. The one inside said, "Come in." So he came in on one side of the fire. As before they gave him food. When they were through eating they sat talking before going to sleep. Then they went to bed and slept. As before he got up early in the morning. He found himself among fir trees on the north slope. And he came on tracking, he tracked as before, all day long he ate nothing. All day long he followed it. Ten days he tracked it there. Now he approached Downhill-north where he was to arrive. As before, in the evening he saw a house before him and there was smoke rising from the fire within. He went and came up to it. The one inside said, "Come on in." And he entered. And as before they gave him food, they gave him soup to eat, and jerked venison. Then they sat talking

together. After a while they went to bed and slept. As before, he woke up early in the morning. When he woke up he found himself among woodwardia on the north slope, he woke up in the mountains in the midst of the brush. And he came on tracking. Closer it took him, it was going to take him to Downhill-north, to the Deer earth lodge. ⁷⁵He tracked it long and grew old as he went on. So he came to Downhill-north, to the Deer earth lodge. And the one inside said, "Come in." He came in. "Farther in, come farther in," he said. Then he said, "Sit down," he said. "There is what you have been tracking," and he gave him a hide. "You have been tracking this," he said, "the hide of a little fawn." So they went to bed there. Early in the morning he got up and started out on his return, came on this way returning. Quite a little while he was on his way. He returned and reached the house, an old man walking with a cane. He reached the house and entered his grandfather's dwelling, his grandmother's dwelling he reached, and entered. And they who were looking for him did not recognize him when he arrived. So he came in, and sat down, and stayed there. And they talked, "Who are you, newcomer?" he said. "It is I, the one who went chasing deer," he said. So now they fondled him. They gave him food. Then the next day they heated rocks to steam him. They were heating rocks to steam him and he came up to them and looked in. Then he was burned up; they steamed him and scorched him and he was burned up. He said, "Tuh!" Then he jumped forward. When he jumped forward he turned into a grasshopper. This is all.

³⁶BEAR AND DEER*

⁷⁶Deer woman and Grizzly Bear woman went to graze on clover. Grizzly Bear woman sat down, Deer woman sat down, they sat down. "Younger sister, come let me hunt lice on your head," said Grizzly Bear woman. Deer woman came near her. The old woman, Grizzly Bear woman, took hold of her and hunted lice on her head. Then she killed Deer woman, killed her, ate her, and in the evening she came home, Grizzly Bear woman came home all alone. The fawns cried, for their mother had not come home. The two cried and cried. Grizzly Bear said, "Why are you crying?" she said. "Don't cry. Stop it. That is where your mother went, there, south up the hill.

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

Trot-trot, trot-trot, went the woman to the south. Don't cry," thus spoke Grizzly Bear. So they played.

Grizzly Bear went to the earth lodge where her daughter dwelt. She spoke, "The fawns are grown. We'll eat them," she said.

The two boys played and played. Then they went to the earth lodge, the two boys, they killed Grizzly Bear maiden. They chopped off her foot. Then they got it fixed. "Stay this way," they said. They told Grizzly Bear maiden's foot. ⁷⁷"Stay and make hut-hut, hut-hut," they said. Then they stuck some sharp bones into the ground, they stuck them and left them. ⁷⁸They took the meat and brought it there to the house where the old woman lived. "Old Woman, we brought something cut up in a basket." The old woman was happy that she was to eat meat, old Grizzly Bear woman was happy. In the morning she got up, she pounded acorns for soup the next morning. "Go bring wood, manzanita wood," she said. The boys said, "Yes, we'll go get some." They went northward uphill, the two boys went to get wood, manzanita wood. Then, facing downhill toward the south they spoke, "The old woman sitting downhill to the south eats her daughter's flesh in chunks, pounding the while," said the two boys. "What are you saying?" said the old woman. "From where shall we bring manzanita?" they said. The old woman said, "There from farther north up the hill bring good manzanita wood." The two boys went on, went northward up the hill. "There downhill to the south the old woman sits pounding and eating her daughter's flesh," said the boys. The old woman said, "What are you saying?" "From where shall we bring manzanita?" said the two boys. "From farther north up the hill, from farther north up the hill, bring good manzanita wood." Then the two boys went uphill to the top, went uphill, and got to the ridge. "There down the hill to the south sits the old woman, sits pounding and eating her daughter's flesh in chunks," said the two boys. The old woman heard, jumped up, left the acorns, the old woman who was pounding.

The boys went running northward downhill and reached the water's edge. "Grandfather ⁷⁹make yourself into a bridge for us across to the south; something fearful is chasing us." He put a bridge across to the south, the two boys crossed, landed on the north side, got out where the old man was sitting. The old man took the bridge down. They listened. From up the hill came old Grizzly Bear woman at a rapid pace. She came down and said, "Old man, make yourself into a bridge across to the south." The old man sat there, and then

threw a bridge to the south. The old woman started northward over the bridge, then took off her hat, dipped up water, brought it to her lips and drank, got through, threw away what was left of the water. Then she knocked the hat against the wood. ⁸⁰The old man tipped the bridge to one side, and the old woman fell into the water and started to swim. "Oh! water, east water; oh! water, east water," she said. The old man said, "Open your mouth wide and keep your eyes shut if you want to land quickly." The old woman shut her eyes tightly and swam. The old man said, "Open your mouth wider if you want to land quickly." ⁸¹Then the old man took some hot stones which were in the fire and threw them down her mouth, down her mouth he threw them, the hot rocks he had went down. She died, Grizzly Bear woman died. I finished.

The same version of this tale is found in the Bald Hills and McCloud regions, but it is made clear that the old man throws his leg across as a bridge; also the following incidents are added.

The children stayed with the old man for a long time. Every day the old man went to trap fish. Each day he told the children, "There is a basket. Leave it alone; don't open it. There is another basket. Leave that alone too; don't open it." That happened three or four mornings. Finally one morning the children opened the basket. It was full of fleas. The fleas jumped all over. They went everywhere. The old man was angry but he gathered up all the fleas and put them back in the basket.

The next day the boy who was the older (in this version the children were brother and sister) said to his sister, "Sister, let's look and see what is in that other basket." The boy raised the cover and rattlesnakes came out and spread all over. This time the children ran away toward the north. When the old man came home he was very angry. He made a fire and burned the whole country.

The two fawns looked back and saw the fire coming. The girl said, "What are we going to do?" The boy answered, "I guess we are going to burn up." Then the girl said, "Here is a tree. I don't think it will burn up." So the boy pulled out his dagger and made a hole in the live oak tree. The children stayed there four or five days. Then they made it rain. When they came out of the tree, they tapped the ground all around and found it was cool. Then they traveled north again.

The girl said, "Brother, I think I hear my mother's voice singing." The boy said, "I don't hear anything." The girl insisted that she heard her mother's voice. All that time the mother's eye which Grizzly Bear woman had thrown toward the north was singing, "Ani populet neṭpitet eliwiñes kura (---? them, my daughter with my son)." The girl heard it all the time, but the boy would not admit that he heard it too. They kept on following the song. They came to a flat way up north. They heard the song coming closer and closer. Soon they saw a lean-to. Then they saw someone lying in it with her face toward the wall. The old woman turned around. They saw a one-eyed woman.

In another version the children were warned by the grandfather not to enter a certain house. They disobey and are stung to death by rattlesnakes, spiders, and other venomous creatures.

In still another version the children are warned not to lift an inverted basket. They disobey and an abalone hops out. The incident occurs also as a separate story included under the title "Boy and the Abalone."

'37. TALIMLELUHERES AND ⁸²LOON WOMAN*

Many people came into being. There was a couple who had many children, nine boys, one girl, ten children. Their first child was a beautiful boy, and they put him away. They named him Talimleluheres (He-who-was-made-beautiul?) and ⁸³put him away rolled up in a bear hide. They lived there, and lived there, and lived there, and soon some of their children walked around, some played. The girl lived there, grew up into a woman, and then one morning she went down to the stream, she went to the place where they got water, she sat down, that woman. She looked at the ground, she saw a ⁸⁴hair, she took it up, looked at it, looked at the hair, one hair, she looked at the hair she had found. "Whose hair? I want to know." She looked at it long, looked at the hair, one long hair; the woman thought, "Whose hair?" she thought.

Talimleluheres went every morning to bathe. No one had any idea that he went to bathe. Talimleluheres went to the water, bathed and came home. One hair came off, came off his head. The woman found it, the hair, found the hair at the beach where they dipped up the water. "I want to know whose hair it is." Thus she thought. The woman kept the hair. Thinking of the man, the woman said, "This morning I shall go west. I want to take someone along to guide me. I shall go," she said, speaking to her mother. "I shall go west," she said. Thus she spoke, thinking of the man. "Hm," said her mother, "whom do you want to take with you?" She would not say whom. The old woman said, "Well, take this little one with you, your younger brother." The woman said, "I don't want to take him." "Whom will you take with you?" "I want to take another one with me." "Then take this one." "I won't," said the woman. She did this for a long time, and she got through all. Talimleluheres alone was left, Talimleluheres. The old woman sat there meditating. ⁸⁵The woman measured the hair. The hair of all did not match it. The hair

*Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

she had found was longer. The old woman sat there, sat meditating, finally she said, "Yes, take this one then, Talimlêluheres," her son. "Yes." The woman was happy that she was to take him along. She measured the hair, and his hair matched it. "I shall take this one," she said. Now the woman got herself ready, painted herself, got food to take along, everything—soup, acorn bread, salmon flour,—put them in a carrying basket on her back, went taking Talimlêluheres with her.

⁸⁶They went west. Talimlêluheres went ahead, the woman came behind. "Nanisini (term of endearment), my husband," thus spoke the woman. "What?" said the man. "Elder brother, don't hurry, that is what I am saying." The woman said, "Hiwaa" (meaningless charm word), said the woman. "Grow dark soon," said the woman. They went and went, and went, and went, and went. It grew dark and the woman spoke. "Let's camp right here. It is evening," she said. "Yes," he said. So she started a fire. Then they ate supper and the woman got busy preparing a sleeping place, made a bed, she prepared a nice bed, she got a nice sleeping place ready, cut all kinds of ferns, and spread them on the ground. "Lie here, elder brother, I finished making a bed for you to lie on, I finished making it." Then she said, "As for me, I'll sleep anywhere on the ground." So they went to bed. Talimlêluheres went to bed, slept, near the fire lay Talimlêluheres. The woman lay there on the ground. Then the woman said, "Hiwaa, go to sleep," she said. "Go to sleep," said the woman to Talimlêluheres. And he slept, Talimlêluheres slept. The woman got up and looked, he was sleeping. Softly she went and lay down, took Talimlêluheres in her arms, and she lay there. Talimlêluheres woke up and saw he was sleeping in his sister's arms. The woman was sleeping, she lay asleep, snoring. Talimlêluheres got up softly, went and got pithy alder wood, brought it, put it on the ground, got pithy alder wood and left it there, ⁸⁷put it in her arms and left it, he, Talimlêluheres. When he was through he came, came toward the house, he came walking rapidly, rapidly, walking, walking rapidly. The woman slept long.

The man came, came walking rapidly, and reached the house, his mother's house, his father's house. And when he got there, "Be quick, let's go," he said. The old woman, the old man said, "Yes, let's go." Then they set the earth lodge on fire, smoke rose from the earth lodge, and therewith they went whirling upward. ⁸⁸They made Coyote sit here at the very bottom. "Don't look down," they said to Coyote. "That woman will come and will cry, will say this and that. Don't look down," they said to Coyote. Whirling upward they went up.

The woman in the west woke up. She looked and saw how she was holding pithy alder in her arms. She was angry, the woman was angry. "I'll kill you," she cried, the woman cried:

"Anana, *ωνωνων*
 Anana, *ωνωνων*
 Omanut anana
 Omanut *ωνωνων*."

Singing she came toward the east. This way she came rapidly toward the east. The woman rushed up to the earth lodge and stopped, saw the earth lodge burning, did not know what to do, looked all about the country but did not see anyone. Then she went around and around the earth lodge. She did not see anyone, had no idea where they had gone. She looked about the country there, she looked about. "Where can father have gone, where can mother have gone," thus she thought. And she cried and cried, the woman cried and cried. Then she chanced to look up and saw them going up, her mother, her father, her elder brother, she saw going up. "I want to go, my mother, my father, I want to go," she cried, and cried, and cried.

When they had almost reached the Above, when they had almost got above to the sky, Coyote, the warned one, ⁸⁸Coyote looked down and all came down into the fire, fell down there into the earth lodge and burned up. They fell down, fell into the fire, Talimleluheres fell into the fire, all fell into the fire. Talimleluheres' heart popped off.

Now the woman walked around, and walked around, kept searching. The earth lodge was cold, burned down, and the fire had gone out. Then she took a stick and searched, she searched with the stick, found her mother's heart, her father's heart she found. And she scratched about, and scratched about in the ashes trying to find Talimleluheres' heart. She did not find it. So the woman strung the hearts on a cord, she strung them and hung them on her neck. She did not find Talimleluheres' heart. Talimleluheres' heart exploded and went to another place and fell down. No one knew about his heart. The woman said, "I want to see his heart." The woman walked about thinking, with the hearts hung on her neck.

Far away there lived two human women. The two went every day to get wood in the afternoon, the two sisters. The older one went forward a little way. The other girl gathered wood to take home. The other woman went a little way forward because she heard singing, soft singing, she heard. The younger girl was not aware of what her sister heard. She listened and listened to the

singing, then she came back. "Let's take the wood," she said. They carried the wood in carrying baskets on their backs, and brought it to the house. In the evening they went to sleep. The next morning they got up and ate, and in the afternoon went to get wood. And that woman heard singing, she heard singing which had grown louder. So she went there, went listening to the singing, went, and went. The woman went, went nearer, went there listening to the singing, went forward listening, she went stopping every now and then, came up to the singing, saw damp ground there, that woman saw after she got there. She looked at the ground, nothing was there. She kept listening to the song. She saw something black on the ground. That black thing on the ground, that singing one said, "Woman, come. Don't be afraid," it said. The woman thought, said to herself, "This must be, this must be the person who was lost long ago. It must be Talimleluheres," thus she thought. The woman stood looking at the ground, thinking. The one on the ground said, "Woman, don't be afraid of me. Come." And the woman said, "Yes." Then she looked at the one who was on the ground. Many deer had been there, and it was dusty. To the east where the person lay, to the west, were many deer tracks. After she had looked at him she went to carry wood where her younger sister was standing. She went and came up to her. When she came up to her, the girl said, "Elder sister, where did you go? You were gone long." "I was gone a while," she said. They carried the wood and brought it home on their backs. Then in the evening they went to bed and slept, and the woman said nothing. The next morning they got up and when they were about to go after wood as before, she put a little soup into a basket cup, in that basket cup she carried it hidden in her clothes, she carried the soup. The younger one gathered wood. The woman got the soup and carried it, did not let the younger sister see that she was carrying soup. She went and came to him there and fed soup to the one who lay on the ground. The one who lay on the ground seemed a little better, had got better. He ate soup, he ate soup the woman fed him, fed him. After she had fed him, she got wood ready, got wood ready, got wood ready, carried it on her back to the house, brought it there, brought the wood. As before it became evening, they all slept.

The next morning the two women got up, and after they ate she went carrying the soup. And the younger girl thought, "What is the matter?" Her elder sister went and the younger girl followed.

She went, she followed on her elder sister's tracks wanting to see, and she saw. Her elder sister was sitting and feeding someone soup. The younger girl looked and meditated as she saw how she was feeding soup to someone. "Have you discovered this one?" said the younger girl. And the younger girl went and reached her elder sister. "Have you discovered this one?" she said. "Yes," she said, "The one who went away long ago, the person who was lost, the person not found, this is the one," she said, speaking to her younger sister. "Let's go home," she said. They went home, and when they got home they sat there, it got dark, they ate, and lay down, they went to bed, and slept, the two women. In the middle of the night the two women woke up, and saw that a man lay between them, a beautiful man lay between them. He had come back to life and came to the house, he who had been found by the two women. So he stayed there, he stayed a little while. And the two women bore children. The two boys, their children, grew and played, and played, and played, shooting at birds. Then once they saw a bird and shot at it with an untipped arrow and hit it on the lower leg. The bird shrieked, "Tuwetetek, tuwetetek, why did you shoot at me, cousins?" And they went and came to the woman. They sat down and she talked to them, "Let me tell you something. You are getting older. Over there is a pool, go and look, there is a raft on the pool. Don't shoot with these. Prepare good untipped arrows, prepare good untipped arrows of pitch wood," she said. "There, to the pool, comes every evening she who made us kinless. She'll come from the east around the hill. You shall hear her coming above there, coming with roaring wings. She'll come from up there and alight on the pool. She'll alight down on the water, she'll alight, she who made us kinless. There she glides on the water saying, 'Wuuuuk,' and flaps her wings. Then she dives, then she comes out of the water near the raft which is there, she comes out close to it," she said. "And after she comes out this is what she does. She stands flapping her wings. Now you watch carefully and shoot well, look well and shoot, don't miss her, with your untipped arrows of pitch wood. Don't miss her; look well and shoot."

When she was through talking, the two boys went to the house, went, and reached their home, they reached the house playing. They did not say anything. They stayed home the next day. The day after they got up, ate, and went playing, went on their way playing. And they got there to the pool. It grew dark, the sun set. The two

boys got on the raft and rowed themselves about shooting at the ducks which were on the pool. Suddenly they heard her coming with roaring wings. "Here she comes. Listen," they said. She who was coming alighted on the pool. "Wuuuuk" she said. Then she dived. The two boys were all prepared and sat watching. She came close and got out beside the raft. Then, after she had got out, she flapped her wings. The two boys were all prepared, kept her in sight all the time, shot with the untipped arrows of pitch wood exactly ⁸⁹at the hollow of her armpit, shot, and hit her. Then she dived into the pool, she dived. The boys stood watching. Suddenly she rose bloated to the surface, dead. They took hold of her and dragged her to the edge of the raft there and threw her on top, after having dragged her out they threw her on top. Then they left and came to the house. They got through eating. Then they spoke. "Father," they said. The old man said, "What?" "We killed her," they said, "the Wukwuk." The old man said, "Oh."

The next morning they got up, the old man went, the boys went leading the father to show him the one they had killed. They went, and the old man saw her who lay on the raft. "Yes," he said, "this is she who made us kinless," said the old man. And he took hold of her and saw that she had a necklace on, that she had on a necklace of human hearts. And the old man untied his father's heart, his mother's heart, the hearts of his younger brothers. Then he cut her flesh into strips and left it. Then he went, he cut it into strips, and left it, and went to the house, his dwelling. He brought the hearts of his mother, his father, his younger brothers, he brought them to the house. ⁹⁰He put them in water with stones over them, and went to bed in the evening. The next day, at dawn, his mother, his father, his younger brothers, having come back to life in the water, came to the house, the ones who had been soaked in the water came early in the morning. This is the way it ends.

'38. TALIMLELUHERES AND ROLLING HEAD

⁹¹LOON WOMAN*

Long ago there came into being some people who had four children, two boys and two girls, and who owned a big earth lodge. The adolescent boy stayed in the earth lodge always. In the meantime his younger sister reached adolescence. So they left her in the

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

menstrual hut for some nights. Now his younger sister loved him who was in the earth lodge, Talimleuheres. So she went to him, got into bed with him, tickled him and sat all over him. However her elder brother said, "What is the matter with you, younger sister?" and she left. So she came to him, sometimes in the evening, sometimes in the early morning, and she bothered him as before, tickling him. And as before he said, "What is the matter with you, younger sister?" So at last her elder brother told his sister. "Elder sister, here to me, all the time to me, comes to me my younger sister," he said. And his sister went to her younger sister and asked, "Why do you always bother my younger brother?" And the other said, "I never bother him." Then the other said, ⁹²"Younger sister, go get maple. Make yourself a front apron." So she went to get it, climbed around on the maple trees and peeled, kept on peeling, and cut her finger. And for a while she stood there with blood dripping to the ground. Then she sucked the blood. She did not know what to do, so she sucked it in and spat it out, and as she did so the blood tasted sweet to her, so now, first because she wanted to swallow blood and then because she wanted ⁹³to eat her flesh, she devoured her flesh and turned into a Rolling Head (K'opk'opmas). All around the world she went, devouring people. She left for herself only her elder sister, her younger brother, and her elder brother.

Now they were afraid and started to climb up above. They heard her below going about wildly everywhere asking everything, the rock beings, the tree beings, asking all. And they said, "We don't know." They added, "You grew into something else and yet you know nothing." So she asked some ancient faeces and they said, "You grew into something else and yet you know nothing. Look up above." So she looked up and saw them going halfway up. So she jumped up, and grabbed, and pulled down, and then lay on her back, and spread her legs. He who was going above, her elder brother, fell between her thighs. She was very excited.

And the rest went above empty-handed. "Oh dear, our own child has orphaned us," said the old man. They cried. And the older daughter said, "However long it may take, I'll find my younger brother." So they went up above.

Now her older brother would have nothing to do with her, and turned on his side. So, in one lick as it were, she devoured him, his heart alone she hung around her neck and went toward the north drainage, alighted with it on a big lake, swam about with it, stayed

there with it. Every evening at sunset she came, skimming the water, to a large sandy beach on the east shore, south, south to the sandy beach, on the south she alighted and stayed.

The people wanted to catch her but did not know how. Humming-Bird said, "Let me go," he said, "Let me watch." The people said, "Yes," and he said to the elder sister, "Make a good cooking basket," he said. "Then have on hand white rocks, good ones which will hold heat," he said. He did not come, and did not come, and then finally he arrived. He arrived and told them, "I saw her," he said, "She has a heart hung around her neck. At sunset she alights on the sand on the south beach. From the north she comes." And the people said, "Let's go and watch," they said. Then they said to the little boy, "You go and watch," they said. They gave him a good sharp untipped arrow. "When you see her, pierce her, and when you pierce her she'll go south, she'll get out and make a bee-line, and go south to the sand beach." To the woman they said, "You go and sit on the south bank, on the sandy beach. Have the cooking basket half full of water and heat the white rocks well and drop them in. And when he pierces her go quickly, get her, grab her, and slip the heart off over her head. Put it into the cooking basket and cover it up quickly."

At sunset they were there. And the elder sister sat on the south bank on the beach, as she had already been directed. She went there and watched. As she watched at sunset the water was heard roaring in the north. She did not come, and then, at last, she saw her come and get out on the south bank, and behold, she had been pierced by the untipped arrow. She went quickly and slipped off the heart and ⁹⁴put it into the cooking basket. Then she took it home. "This is my younger brother's heart," she said. So they steamed it, and while they were steaming it, it came to life, but though he was a person he did not look right. He did not live very long.⁹⁵

'39. ⁹⁶ROLLING HEAD*

Long ago people came into being, and lived at a village; it was filled with people, they lived both on the flat on the west side of the river, and on the flat on the east side of the river they lived too. There was a chief at the head of the people. He had two daughters. And the younger one reached puberty. However, she did not tell

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

her mother. However, her parents knew it. So they were to call a puberty dance, and they met, and discussed it. In the evening the father spoke, "Early in the morning go strip bark for a maple bark apron," he said. "But don't take the girl who has reached puberty with you. Go secretly," he said. So early in the morning they got up, the rest of the women got up early in the morning. So they all went secretly, quite a little way north they went, and some even went north uphill and crossed the ridge to the north. Then later she woke up, the one who had reached puberty. And she went, though she was forbidden to go she went, going behind the others. She went on a while, then went uphill and across the ridge to the north. She went northward downhill and reached them. Some stripped bark and others already had much. And she went right up to them and stretched her hand to the west and cut off maple bark. All at once, she stuck her little finger with a splinter. It bled. And her older sister came up to her and wiped it with dead leaves. Then they said, "When will it leave off? The blood cannot stop flowing." And the rest of them all left, they knew already and were afraid so they left. And she fooled with herself a while until she finished all the green leaves. So they two were left behind alone. Some who had already left reached the house and told him. "She got stuck with a splinter while stripping bark," they said. And the old man said, "She does not listen to me."

She who was downhill to the north now sucked blood and spat it out. Then more blood came and though she sucked the blood she could not stop its flow. Meanwhile the sun began to set. Until early evening she sucked, she kept on sucking, not being able to help herself. Then she got tired, not being able to stop it in any way. Suddenly she happened to swallow blood and smelled the fat. Then she fooled with herself a while and it tasted sweet. ⁹⁷So now she ate her little finger, she ate it, she fooled with herself a while and ate her whole hand. Then she ate both her hands, devoured them. Then she fooled with herself a while and ate her leg, ate both her legs. Then she ate up her whole body. Then her head alone was left and rolled about. So they went (she and her sister) rolling over the ground she went.

The old man in the house said, "From the north she'll come, she who went to strip maple bark. Put on your clothes, people," he said, "Get your weapons. We people are gone." And the people dressed themselves and got their weapons. And from the north they

saw her come, she came rolling toward the house. She arrived there and lay there, in the early evening. After she had stayed there a while, she bounced up to the west across the river, to the flat on the west across the river. And she threw the people into her mouth. She did not linger, she turned the village up side down, she devoured them all. Then she fell to the east across the river, and lay there, and the next morning she threw those of the east flat into her mouth, ate them, devoured them all. Only her eldest sister she left for herself for a while. And she went about the world and when she saw people she threw them into her mouth and ate them. In the evening she came home, lay there, and as before, the next morning she left, went about the world looking for people. As before in the evening she came home, and lay there, and stayed there all the next day. Then as before she went searching. Up to the northern edge of the sky she climbed and looked all over the world, but she saw no one. So in the evening she came, arrived, and lay there, and the next morning she got up, and threw her elder sister into her mouth. Then she came on her way, went on her way, and came to the edge of a big creek. She did not know how to cross. And from her side she called. A man was sitting there. ⁹⁸He threw a bridge over from the other side. She was crossing and when she had gone halfway he jerked it and it went down at Talat. And she fell into the river, and as she fell into the water a riffle pike jumped and swallowed her. And it is finished. This is all.

'40. ORIGIN OF KUKUP'IWIT*

Many people came into being. They all went to deer drives, killed many deer, and ate them. This went on for a long time. And there lived one man who had married a little girl who was not yet adolescent. Then this girl had a child and he dreamed, that he would never kill any more deer he dreamed.

Now they went hunting all the time, and he, the one who had dreamed, went hunting with them. But he killed nothing. For a long time he killed nothing. "Why don't I kill any deer?" he said. However, he went hunting all the time. And the rest of them brought home big deer slung on their backs in the evening always. But he killed nothing. They gave venison to him, the one who had dreamed, but he did not eat it. As long as he had not killed the deer he did

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

not want to eat it. "The deer don't want to die for me so I won't eat," he said.

Now they two lived there a little farther away than the rest. And the next morning, early in the morning, they all went hunting, and he went, the one who had dreamed. Though he shot at deer he could never kill any, though he saw big deer every day he could not kill any. So he was very angry. And they were about to go home. And while he was out in the hills, he saw people with many deer slung on their backs, and he had killed none. And just before noon the people were all carrying deer slung on their backs. And he stayed there, did not go. He stood there very angry. He stood there some time. And now he sat down, sat down, and took out his knife. "He sat down, straightened his leg, and cut off the thigh from the joint. Then he twisted it off, got up, got up, twisted it off; he worked a hazel twig until it was pliable, twisted off the leg, worked the twig and tied his leg there, the one he had chopped off. Then he carried it on his back with the rope, he got himself a cane, and went there using a cane, went jumping along. "Hey! there! laugh! ye! at! my! thigh! Hey! there! laugh! ye! at! my! thigh!" Some of the people who were left behind saw him going along this way. So they went fast, they went, and came to the house, and told the people. "He is crazy, he cut off his leg and is bringing it," they said. So they told his wife. "Your husband killed a big deer," they said. "He is bringing it slung on his back."

Now the people talked among themselves, and they all left. But the woman did not go. And some said, "Go, come let's go, your husband is crazy." And a little before sunset he came, that man came. He said, "Hey! there! laugh! ye! at! my! thigh; Hey! there! laugh! ye! at! my! thigh!" And the woman heard. He came on and got there. He got there and threw it down. And the woman talked this way to her husband, "What has happened to you?" she said. But he did not answer. So he stood there, and stood there, and then he got the thing he had put down. He carried it slung on his back. And the woman went to her home. Now he carried his leg slung on his back, the crazy one, he carried it to the Sacramento River country. And those people all went behind him keeping him in sight, they went in fear, they were afraid, and did not lay hands on him. So he went, and went there, and thus he entered a cave near Delta. So they left him and went home. Thus it has been transformed.

41. KUKUP'IWIT AND THE OLD WOMAN*

Many people came into being and dwelt there, dwelt long. They dwelt, and dwelt, and dwelt, and then they went to a deer drive. And an old woman stayed behind, she and her granddaughter, they two stayed, they two alone. They sat, and sat, and it grew dark. They sat there in the evening, her granddaughter sat on one side of the fire. They sat there in the evening and behold, someone came into the house. And he sat on top of the big log whose other end was in the fire, he came in and sat astride it. And the old woman said, "Hello, newcomer," to the person who had arrived. "From where are you come, from where do you come?" she said. And the man said, "From where," just like her, mocking the woman. "All the people are gone to a deer drive," she said. "All are gone to a deer drive," he said. "What are you, what kind of person are you?" she said. And Kukup'iwit kept saying exactly what she said.

In the meantime it grew dark but the old woman did not go to bed. And the man sat down there close by where the old woman sat. And after they had sat a while he poked her with his finger. The old woman said, "Leave off, don't do that. I am afraid of you," she said. Again he poked her. The old woman did not like it. "Oh dear, granddaughter, he is some kind of bad person, granddaughter," she said. And he poked her as before and tickled her, kept on doing it. And she shrieked and shrieked. Now the old woman shrieked and shrieked, she lay on the ground as he tickled her. Then she said, "Dear me, granddaughter, something fearful is killing me." And her granddaughter who sat there to one side of the fire, took some fire, and set him on fire. There, with the pine needles there, with which she had made her bed, those she took and set that man on fire. Though she got him burning, though he was on fire, yet he did not burn up. In the meantime, day began to break. And the old woman spoke to her granddaughter, "Granddaughter, I'll get killed by this one. Go," she said. So her granddaughter went, went to where the people had gone, going after them. And she went, and then late in the evening she arrived, went up to those who were deer driving. "Grandmother and I had someone come to us last night. My grandmother was about to be killed," she said. "I was sent

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

and came," she said. And the people all came back, they all came, many of them, they came running along, they came, and came in sight of the house, and behold, he had got her out and was carrying her on his back, head downward. So they all went after him, they followed him at a distance, they followed, keeping him in sight ahead of them, they went, they went, they did not approach him. He took her far, he went, and went, and went, and went, he went carrying her, and now he took her into a cave. And they put sticks of wood, pitch wood, at the hole and set fire to them. And they fanned it. and from the house Kukup'iwit was heard grunting, "x, x, x," while he was being fanned with smoke. So they smoked him and he died, and the people all left. Thus it has been transformed.

42. KUKUP'IWIT AND THE WOMAN*

North at Lamoine lived Kukup'iwit. Every morning she went on the west side of the river to Lamoine to pick clover. The old woman sat picking clover on the west side of the river.

From the west came a human woman carrying a baby in a baby basket. At Lamoine she came in full view of the east and saw the old woman sitting and picking clover. "A human old woman sits there," she said to herself. She went on, and on, and came to the old woman. The old woman turned her head and looked up. "Hello, newcomer." And the woman said, "Hello." The old woman said, "Hm, it is cold, it is cold. Let's go to the house." This is the way the old woman spoke. The human woman said, "Yes."

So they went and entered the house. They sat down after they had come into the warm house. The old woman prepared a meal. She boiled venison, nice and fat, and fed the human woman; the old woman fed her fat venison, fed her acorn soup. Then the old woman said, "Sleep, you two." The woman said, "Yes, let's lie down, let's sleep." "Lie down, you'll be going tomorrow," said the old woman.

They slept until morning. In the morning they got up, the old woman prepared food, boiled venison, got everything ready, gave it to the woman to eat, gave her soaked live acorns to eat. Then the old woman and the human woman were through eating. The woman said, "We are going, we are going." The old woman said, "Yes, go, go, go." The old woman then gave them live oak acorns.

*Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

"Eat these when you sit down by the trail. Don't take these acorns into a human house." "Yes," said the human woman.

Now the woman and the baby went southward along the Sacramento river. She left the acorns behind and went to a house. They stayed there at the house and slept there. The following day she went out to eat, pretending she was going to get wood. She ate the acorns which she had left there, and she got through eating. An acorn shell fell into the baby basket without her knowing.

She carried the wood and brought it to the house. Then she put down the child. Another woman took it to untie it. Suddenly she came upon the acorn shell that was in the baby basket. She said, "Where did this acorn shell come from?" The woman said, "I don't know where it came from."

In the evening they went to bed, they lay down, and slept, they slept all night. In the morning they woke up and found the woman dead, the child dead. Kukup'iwit had got them.

'43. KUKUP'IWIT AND THE CHILD*

Up the hill to the northwest lived many people. Kukup'iwit lived here to the west; at Pounded-rolls-down she lived. All the time Kukup'iwit would come over the east ridge from Pounded-rolls-down to see, because she wanted to carry off human children. She watched every evening.

One day she carried off a human child through feeding it venison.¹⁰⁰ She got her and took her to the house. The following day she pounded nice deer fat and made a ball for the human child. For her daughter she pounded neck bone and made a ball for her daughter. Then she said (to the human child), "Play with the deer-fat ball; throw it up in the air." Then Kukup'iwit's daughter became very angry. "Go," she said to the human girl. "Go to your house," she said. "There it is. Look down the hill to the east. Your grandfather has a fire going, and he is working with wood. Go to him." And the little girl came this way; after she got on the trail she came running, she came fast up to her grandfather. Her grandfather said, "I don't want to see you. I have lost a little girl and I don't want to see little girls." "It is I, your granddaughter," this way spoke the little girl. The old man looked at her without answering; he looked, and looked,

*Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

and then he recognized her. "t', t', t'," (term of endearment). He recognized his granddaughter after looking at her a while.

He put her on his back and took her to the house where he lived. When he took her to the house, the people all together looked at the little girl. This is the way she told them, "From right there she sent me. Kukup'iwit's little girl sent me." "Yes, let us eat, and fill up early in the evening, and when we are through eating, Kukup'iwit will come. Let us all go lie in the earth lodge."

They all went to the earth lodge, everyone of them, men, women, all, went to the earth lodge, went to lie down, went to lie there in the earth lodge. It got dark. The people lay in the earth lodge, lay listening. Then they heard. "She is walking outside. Kukup'iwit is walking outside."

¹⁰¹Kukup'iwit walked, and walked, then she stuck her head in. "Give the child out here," she said. They did not answer. They lay listening. "Give me my daughter, O people." "Your daughter is not here," said the people. Kukup'iwit said, "There are coming-tracks. Here are coming-tracks, tracks coming into the earth lodge." The people said, "Let's give you the child. Stick your arm in." So Kukup'iwit was happy. She stuck her hand in. "Where is she?" she said. The people said, "Here she is, here she is. Stick your arm in, stick your arm in, stick your arm in. Where is your arm?" Kukup'iwit stuck her arm in. The people felt Kukup'iwit's arm. "Stick your arm in, stick your arm in. Let's feel your arm." They got a hold on her arm and chopped it off and gave it to her. "Here is your daughter." Kukup'iwit took it and said, "t', t', t'." Kukup'iwit was happy. She took her arm, put it in the carrying basket on her back. She went home with her arm in the carrying basket on her back, she was happy. She went, and went, and went, and went, and went. She sat down on the trail, put the carrying basket in front of her, looked into the basket, and there was the arm. She looked into the basket and there was her arm in the basket. Kukup'iwit was very angry when she saw her arm. She looked at herself closely and saw that she lacked an arm. Kukup'iwit was very angry that the people had chopped off her arm.

44. MOUNTAIN LION AND KUKUP'IWIT*

Mountain Lion was married to Deer woman. He was a good hunter and kept her well supplied with meat. After a while they had a boy. Mountain Lion began going away and staying longer and longer. Sometimes he would not come back for a long time. Deer woman did not have food enough to eat any more. Then someone told her that Mountain Lion was going about with other women. She was very angry. She put her baby on her back and started for North-down-hill-deer-earth lodge. She went and went. Mountain Lion came home one day and found that she had left, he knew she had gone home so he began to follow her. He saw her tracks. Soon he came to a ridge and looking across to the opposite ridge he saw Deer woman resting under a manzanita bush. He was glad and hurried after her. When he got there she was gone. Then he went on again tracking her. After a while he saw her across the canyon but when he tried to catch up to her she had disappeared. This went on for a long time. The nearer she came to her earth lodge the closer he was to her. Then he saw her right near him and he reached to catch her and she disappeared again. He saw her enter the earth lodge. He did not dare follow her into the earth lodge. He was afraid. So he turned around and started home.

When he reached home his feet were sore, he was hungry, he was just skin and bones. His grandmother, Kukup'iwit, asked him what was the matter and he told her that he had followed his wife and baby who had gone home. Then he asked his grandmother to go get them for him. So she started out; she took a basket of salt with her. In a little while she got to the earth lodge. The people all knew she was coming, so they handed the baby from person to person until it was at the far north end. ¹⁰²Then Kukup'iwit came and asked for her grandchild. The people all said there was no baby there but she kept on asking for it, so after a while they said, "Reach in and we shall give you the child." So she thrust her arm in. Then they said, "Reach in a little farther." Finally she had her whole arm in the earth lodge. Then the people chopped it off and wrapped it up and gave it to her. She said, "Where is it?" Then when she got it, she said, "t', t', t'," and took it, and put it in her basket, and brought it home.

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

When she reached home she found that they had given her her own arm. It was late in the evening. She went to a dark corner of her house. She turned her back to the fire, so her husband would not notice that her arm was gone when he came home. After a while her husband entered. She never said a word. He asked, "What is the matter with you?" then he went to her and turned her toward the fire. He saw she had no arm. "Well," he said, "I always told you to leave people alone. See what you have got for bothering them." Then he left her.

45. ¹⁰³ANAMIT AND ROCK MOSS*

In mythical times the Wintu had an earth lodge near where the moss rock at Ono is. There were many Indians lying around in it. A child, just big enough to stand, sat by the fire crying. Anamit came to the smoke hole and let down a long string of jerked deer meat. The grease began to drip off. The baby stopped crying and looked at it. Soon it began crying again. Then Anamit lowered the meat farther. The baby reached up and seized it. Anamit began pulling up the string of meat very slowly. Finally she got the baby out that way, put it in her carrying basket and started back north with it to her home. By and by she came to the big maple at Cottonwood Creek crossing. ¹⁰⁴The baby reached up and grasped the overhanging limb. Anamit never noticed anything. ¹⁰⁵The baby left something (informant did not know what) in the basket and told it to answer should the woman ask if the child was still in the basket. Every little while Anamit would say, "Are you there?" and the thing would answer, "Yes." When she reached home she left the basket standing outside the door of her house and went in to her man who was Black Crow and said, "You always wanted a baby. Go out and look in the basket." Crow went but there was nothing there. Anamit started back to the earth lodge.

The people in the earth lodge had got together and had decided what to do.

Anamit hung the fat meat down through the smoke hole again. The father of the baby said, "Pass the baby here. It is hungry. It wants to eat." He raised the baby toward the smoke hole. Anamit said, "Hold the baby up higher." The father answered, "I can't." Then he said, "All right, I'll try." But instead of raising the baby

* Bald Hills; Wash Fan.

he lowered him. Anamit leaned farther in, and they all seized her and pulled her down into the earth lodge. Then all the men took knives and tried to stab her. She just said, "That is what I like to feel." Finally someone said, "Get me a mussel shell knife." Then the old woman began to cry. She was afraid of that. The people cut her all up, and mashed her up between two rocks, and threw her out of the earth lodge, downhill right where the moss rock was.

The mass of flesh took some scrub oak switches from a little bush which still grows there, and she took some rock moss and tied herself all up with it. Then she went home. She said to her man, "You always wanted a baby, now see what you have." The man touched her and she almost fell apart. So he went away.

After a while the people went to where they had thrown Anamit. They found blood and broken switches and the moss peeled off the rock, but the mass of flesh was not there. So always after that the people used the moss from that rock to bind up wounds and broken limbs.

'46. THE WOMAN AND THE MOUNTAIN BEING*

There at Bird's-drinking-place lived many people. A girl reached adolescence. Her mother pounded acorns for soup. Speaking to her, "Go bring sand, go," she said. So she went, she went to bring sand from the stream down the hill to the east. She went to bring sand. She put it into a little carrying basket and came carrying it on her back. Then she put it down. She looked up and there was a man. The man said, "What are you doing?" "I came after sand for the acorns my mother pounded." And the man speaking to her said, "Let's go to my home." The girl stood there without saying anything. And the man took her and brought her to his home.

The woman lived a long time there after she had come. The girl spoke, "I want to go home," she said. And the man said, "Yes, let's go. Take some venison in a carrying basket on your back," he said. She put it into a carrying basket, went carrying it on the back, westward down the hill they went, from up the hill to the east, from Where-fat-was-dragged. ¹⁰⁶The girl arrived at her mother's carrying venison on her back. Her mother was glad to see her and asked her, "Where are you living?" The woman said, "There at the Middle-east-lowland, there I live." The old woman said, "Hm."

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

She stayed all day and all night at her home. The next morning they got up. They ate. "Well mother, I am going." The old woman spoke, "Yes, go then, go then, go then," she said.

She went and arrived east uphill at Where-fat-was-dragged, and after she arrived there she stayed long, stayed long. Finally after she had stayed there long, "I want to go," she said, "to my mother's." The wolf said, "Yes, let's go."

They went westward down the hill, the woman carrying the venison on her back. The wolf went halfway and then turned back and reached his home. The woman went, came close to her mother's house there. Then she stopped and stood with the venison on her back. Then she sniffed, and scented the human house. She talked in the language of wolves, "Hū,ū,ū,ū." She turned into a wolf, jumped up, went to Middle-east-lowland, she went having turned into a wolf.

47. MOUNTAIN BEING*

On Portuguese flat near Ono there lived a young girl with her family. The girl owned a pet fox which she had had ever since early childhood. After a time the girl reached adolescence. She was placed in a separate hut, and people sang and danced over her. Her parents told her that now she must part with the fox, that to keep it would be bad luck. They said, "You musn't even look at it or you will become sick." The girl felt badly at losing her pet but she said nothing. That night the parents turned the fox loose in a hollow tree. They did not tell the daughter what they had done. The next day she asked her mother, "How is my fox?" The mother answered, "I told you that the fox would give you bad dreams. Your father turned him loose." The daughter felt so badly that she cried all night. The next day all the people went off to gather food. Her mother and father went too. When they returned early that afternoon, the mother cooked food and took some out to her daughter. The menstrual hut was empty. The mother went back to her husband and said, "Our daughter has disappeared. Where can she have gone?" Then they called to all the other people and everyone began hunting for her. Some went up the creek, some went down the creek. Toward evening they came to Worcester Crossing. The father looked for tracks in the sand. He knew there were several dangerous

* Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

springs there. There were no tracks in the sand, but on the slate rock near by her footprints could be seen as plainly as if she had been walking on mud. They came to a place where she had jumped across. The tracks on the other side led up the hill and to a mountain lion holy place. There the tracks stopped. Everyone felt badly. They went home and cried, and cried, and cried. The parents burned their house and everything they had, just as if she had died.

This was in the fall. The girl was gone all winter. When spring came the old mother put her carrying basket on her back and went down to the bend in the creek to gather clover. She cried, and cried, and cried, as she gathered greens. Toward the middle of the day she heard someone walking ¹⁰⁷and suddenly her daughter appeared. She said, "Mother, don't be sorry; I am living yet. Don't be too sorry. I hear you crying all the time." The old woman was frightened. Suddenly her daughter disappeared. The mother thought to herself, "That must have been just a spirit which was trying to frighten me. It was trying to take me away." When she went home she told her husband what had happened and they both began crying. They told everyone what had occurred. They camped in different places all summer but they never saw or heard the girl again. In fall when the first rains began they went back to their bark house. They had forgotten somewhat about their daughter, but they still felt badly. One evening the daughter stepped into the bark house. She had a child in her basket. Both parents saw her. The mother held out her arms for the baby, saying, "Poor girl, you have a baby." Her daughter replied, "Mother, don't try to hold this child." Just then her husband stepped into the house too. He was a mountain being. He looked like a man, but between his fingers there grew fur, and his canine teeth were large and pointed like a dog's. They sat down and talked together for a time. The girl said nothing about where she lived or what she did. At last the girl said, "Mother, you musn't feel bad; I am still living. This is the last time my husband will let me come to see you." They both cried. Then the daughter and her husband stepped outside. The parents watched them and saw them both turn into mountain lions and disappear.

48. THE GAMBLER*

A great gambler lived at North-rock-point (a place near Ono). He gambled for three days and lost everything he had. He was hungry, so he went home to where his wife was grinding seeds. He put his hand in the basket to get a handful of seeds. ¹⁰⁸His wife seized his hand and threw it out of the basket. "Why don't you gamble some more?" she said. So he went away. He started east. He gathered an armload of wood and set it down saying, "I'm sorry. My wife won't let me eat." All the people went after him. They tried to persuade him to return but he always succeeded in slipping away from them. For two days he traveled eastward gathering armloads of wood as he went. Then he turned to the people who were still following him and said, "You can't make me go back. My wife hurt my feelings and I am going away." He traveled for one more day and reached Mount Lassen. All the others had got tired and gone home. When they reached their village they told everyone that the man had left home because of the way his wife had treated him. When the man reach Mount Lassen he entered the cave near the summit.

This happened in the spring. The man stayed all summer. By fall people had almost forgotten about him. One day many people were gathered together, when they saw the man who had disappeared in the spring coming from the direction of Yolla Bully ridge. He sang as he came. They recognized him, although he was very emaciated. He wore a hazelswitch belt to tie his skin and bones together. When he had arrived at the place where they were he said, "I suppose you people feel sorry for me, but I am living yet. ¹⁰⁹I went in underground at Mount Lassen and I have come out here at the Yolla Bully holy place." Then he disappeared and was never seen again.

* Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

49. ANECDOTE*

A man from Watson Gulch married a woman who was a stranger. She stayed home while her husband was out hunting, so her mother-in-law suggested that she go to gather manzanita berries with the other women. The daughter-in-law was given a basket and she went with the others to a place where there were many manzanitas. Everyone filled her basket, only the strange woman walked around and gathered none. She returned home with an empty basket. Her mother-in-law asked her when she arrived, "Where are the berries? I should like to clean them." The woman answered, "I couldn't find any."

"Why? Didn't you go where the manzanitas grew?"

"Yes, but they were all burned up so I could find none to pick."

50. ANECDOTE†

A man from Bald Hills brought home a woman from the south. Her mother-in-law told her to go with the other women to gather the mountain manzanitas. She accompanied the other people but when she got to the place she did not gather berries. She only walked around and said she did not see them. The others all filled their baskets and went down to the creek to drink. She went with them and said, "I am thirsty. Where is some water to drink?" They pointed to the grass and said, "There is water." She was used to the great waters of the Sacramento River so she couldn't see the little creek. She stepped over the stream two or three times looking for water to drink. At last she stepped right into a marshy place. She jumped back and said, "Tuk! where is that water?" Everyone laughed at her. When they reached home the mother-in-law asked her for the berries she had gathered. The woman answered, "I didn't see any. I only saw little woolly things ¹¹⁰growing near the ground. They weren't manzanitas."

* Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

This and the two following anecdotes are told to ridicule strange women who have married into the Bald Hills subtribe. Although they emphasize the incapacities or ignorance of the stranger, in spirit they are comparable perhaps to our mother-in-law jokes.

† Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

51. ANECDOTE*

Some people were traveling from the south toward the north. They passed through the Bald Hills country. One woman stayed there with a man. He did not want her. Toward early spring she looked down on the north side of the hill and said, "There is still much snow down there. I never saw snow stay so late. I'll not be able to go back south while there is so much snow." The other people all laughed at her. They said, "Go look on the south side of the hill. There the snow has melted away."

The same story is told about a woman from the north, but in this case she looked down on the south side of the hill, saw that the snow had melted and started home, only to be caught in the drifts on the north side of the hill.

52. ¹¹¹COYOTE AND THE WOLVES†

They came into being. Coyote lived with his grandmother, and once his grandmother was about to pound acorns for black bread and sent her grandson after red dirt. So he got a carrying basket and left, went uphill to the east along the ridge. Then he sat a while to rest, and from somewhere singing was heard. However, he thought nothing of it. So he dug, and when he had gone halfway down, the singing was heard nearer. He left the digging and sat listening, and the singing one was heard coming nearer. So he got up and listened and then said to his digging-stick, ¹¹²"Stay stuck in the ground and if some person comes and asks you, 'In which direction did you see him go,' fall northwards."

So Coyote went listening to the singing ahead. As he went this way the singing continued to be audible near-by. Coyote went, and went, and then he saw before him an earth lodge. Coyote said, "Why, some one must be living here." So he entered the earth lodge, and behold, a person sat there who said to him, "Hello, newcomer. Be careful, I have bad children. From up the hill to the east you'll hear them come down yelling. However, don't move." Then he wrapped him in a buckskin, and tied him up, and put him away after having given him a "flat-land" charm. "They'll come in

* Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

† McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

first, the bad ones." Coyote lay there and after a while they were heard up the hill to the east coming down yelling. They came in and said, ¹¹³"S'nff, s'nff, it stinks of valley coyote." Another came in and said . . . [and so on for each of the twelve]. For a while no one came and then the others came in. "S'nff, s'nff, it stinks of valley coyote." Another came in and said . . . [and so on for each of the twelve]. They went inside and sat near the wall and the others went farther in to the north, farther in to the south, and found him who was hidden away. So now they threw him back and forth. They threw him north, they threw him west, they threw him south, they threw him east. So poor old Coyote almost died and he threw the "flat-land" charm into the fire. "Saai," he said. So he lay there and came back to life, came back to life, and asked the old man, "How did you get children? I want children too." And the old man told him, ¹¹⁴"Go up there and break off good straight service-berry twigs. Then take them home, and scrape, and clean twelve; then leave an equal number unscraped, then stick them in the roof of the earth lodge and lie listening, and people will drop."

Coyote finished them and stuck them into the roof of the earth lodge and lay listening. He lay listening and at midnight he heard movement above. He heard them jump, they kept on jumping, they kept on jumping. The ones who had not been scraped said, "S'nff, s'nff, it stinks of valley coyote." However, the old man lay listening. For a while no one came and then the rest of them jumped, and all came down, came down, and disappeared. And Coyote was happy to have children.

In a version secured from a Stillwater woman, Wolf has two daughters and ten sons. Coyote was tossed about as described above but threw the charm on the fire before he lost consciousness. When the root fell in the fire, the sons said, "My, that smells good." Then they began dancing and singing and kept it up all night. In the morning Wolf told Coyote to make children from bear-berry twigs. To make daughters he should peel the twigs. Wolf also helped Coyote to build an earth lodge. The first night when the children came to life Coyote was roughly handled by them but, instead of maintaining silence as he was warned to by Wolf, he squealed. The children immediately turned back into sticks. The next night Coyote did not squeal but instead threw the charm in the fire when he was exhausted by the rough handling, whereupon the sons all began dancing and singing. This continued until morning when the sons went out to hunt as did Wolf's children.

53. PINE SQUIRREL*

There was a young man who came from the Stillwater region. He married a woman from far off to the southwest. After living with her for some time he left her and returned to his own country. After he left her she had a child and when the child was old enough she followed her husband to his own country. They lived together a while then the woman began teasing her husband to go back to her home. The man did not want to go but she teased him and teased him until he finally consented.

They traveled all day toward the west. The next day they came to a running stream. The man hung his quiver on a tree, got a drink of water, and lay down to rest. When they lay down and looked up they saw a little sugar-pine tree loaded with nuts. The woman said to the man, "Climb up and get those nuts." So he did. When he got up there he shook the limb on which he was standing and a few cones fell. The woman got a few nuts out of the cones and tasted them. "They are nice and ripe," she said, so the man kept on knocking them down.

Now the creek near which they had stopped was holy. The woman said, "Hiwaa" (meaningless charm word), and spat what she had in her mouth at the tree. Then she thought, "I want this tree to grow fast." ¹¹⁵The tree began growing very fast. Pretty soon it reached nearly to the sky. The man was left standing way up on a fork of the tree and there were no limbs below him to climb down on. The tree was very slim and slippery. He could not get down any way. The woman took her baby and went home. The tree began bending and twisting. There was a twisted place in the tree where it had bent every which way. The man stayed up there a very long time. He became thirsty and hungry. He was drying up.

Coyote was traveling, and by and by he came to the tree on which the man had left his quiver hanging. He heard someone yelling. He could just hear a dim sound. He stopped and listened, and listened, and listened. Then Coyote saw the quiver hanging on a tree. He wondered to whom it belonged and how long it had been hanging there. Finally he saw the tall limbless tree. Then he thought to himself, "My nephew must be up there." He thought, "That must

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

be my nephew yelling up there." So he decided to go tell the other people. He went and told them where Pine Squirrel was. So all the people gathered together near the tree. Some began climbing to get him down but they could not get high enough. One person would get just so far and have to turn back. Then another one would try. At last ¹¹⁶Measuring Worm tried. He was the last one. Coyote stood on the ground watching him. He saw him reach the twisted place. He thought he would never get by that place. He saw the man try different holds. Finally the man got past the twisted place, and from there he went right on up to where Pine Squirrel was. He was drying up, so Measuring Worm gave him some water, put him on his back, and started down with him. He got him down easily. Pine Squirrel was all right when they got him down.

'54a. HUMMING BIRD*

They came into being south in the lowland. In the spring when many flowers were in bloom, the humming-bird family flew about sucking, sucking the akluli (flower unidentified), and they all died. A little humming bird was left behind all alone. And he said to himself, "Let me go north," and he came up this way. In all the flats there were many people and they saw him. "Where are you going, little boy? Come in a while and have a bite to eat." But Humming Bird sang his song and said, "I couldn't possibly swallow food." And he came on to North Humming Bird peak, stood on the top and looked north across the canyon. All at once he saw many salmon. So he went down the hill, made a trap, and caught many salmon, and baked them. Then after he finished he went uphill eastward to the ridge to gather bark, and farther up east he went to strip off bark. So he went farther uphill and finally he reached the top. He looked here and there toward the south, and the land was beautiful with brightly colored flowers. He said, "Let me go south," and his wings whizzed as he went.

And Coyote coming from the south reached the top of the ridge, and saw salmon baking. "Hm, my nephew must be somewhere here," he said. So he hunted around looking for tracks and finally he saw some going eastward uphill, and he followed them to the top of the ridge, and, behold, there were tracks going in all directions. Then

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

he said, "My nephew must have gone south. Let me follow my nephew." So he went west, and he went east,¹¹⁷ and after collecting sunflower leaves he stuck them under his arms, flew up, then rose a little higher, and sailed about in the air. Then the leaves dried up and he fell to the ground. So again as before, he went west, went east, put a few more leaves than before under his arms, flew up a little higher this time, and sailed about. Then suddenly he fell down and died. And he said, "Saai."

The following story is the same one given above and was secured from the same informant, but the former version was collected in the Wintun, whereas the latter was collected at another time in English. The two are here offered for a comparison between the linguist's and the Indian's rendition.

(b)

Humming Bird was born far down south. When he was young all his relatives died, one by one, so that he was left all alone. He had no relatives. He was very lonesome and went about sucking honey from California poppies. Early in the spring he thought to himself, "Why do I stay here? I think I'll go up north." So one morning he started out. Whenever he came to a place where there were people they would say, "Little boy, where are you going? You had better stop and have something to eat." Then he would cry and say, "No," he'd say, "I'm going up north." Then he would cry, and sing, and say he was going way up the river to Humming Bird peak. He said he had no time to stop and eat. He kept on coming this way. It took him many days. At last he came to Humming Bird peak. He saw salmon in a boil in the river so he decided to have something to eat. He made a trap out of willow. He caught many salmon with it. He heated a big pile of rocks to cook his salmon on. He wanted to make salmon flour but he did not have anything to put it in. So he went up the hill to get fir bark. The farther he went, the better he felt. When he reached a sandy place on top of the hill he looked down south. He thought of his people who had died and he thought that he had no one to share his salmon with. He decided to go back down south. So he flew off and left his salmon there cooking.

Coyote came along and saw the salmon. "My," he said, "my little nephew must be around here. I had better look around and find him." He looked around and saw tracks going up the hill. He followed the tracks and came to the sandy place. He did not see

any tracks leading away from there so he said, "He must have flown back home." So he went and gathered sunflower leaves. He put them on like wings and started flying. He went high but the leaves wilted and he fell. He tried again with more leaves but he fell again. Then he gave up. He went back to the salmon, uncovered them, and ate all he could.

55. SKUNK AND THE PUBERTY DANCE*

All the people were preparing for a girl's puberty dance. Skunk was the head man. He sent all the women out to gather Indian potatoes. He was supposed to watch over them. They gathered all morning. Toward late afternoon Skunk gave a war-whoop. They were all frightened. Then Skunk said, "Stand in a row and sing. We'll practice what to do." (In the puberty dance?) So they all stood in a row and sang, and sang, and danced, and danced.¹¹⁸ Suddenly Skunk let out his scent and blinded the women, he blinded all of them. While they were blinded he ate up the potatoes. Then he said that the Pit River people had come and stolen the potatoes.

This happened several days in succession. The women began to suspect that he was deceiving them so they decided to kill him. On the south end of the line was a woman who was ready to stab him. That day when they practiced the woman at the southern end of the line stuck a sharp stick into his scent sack. Then all the others jumped on him and killed him.

56. ¹¹⁹COYOTE AND THE STUMP†

They came into being.

Coyote came southward from the north, came along the river, came on, and while he was coming he saw an alder stump. He said, "If I saw a person today I'd hit him like this." So he hit the alder stump, and one arm went in; then he hit with the other arm and that too went in. So he kicked with the foot, then again with the other one he kicked, and both went in. Then he kicked with the knee, and again with the other knee he kicked, and both went in. So he bumped with his head and the head went in. So he wiggled, and wiggled, and wiggled, trying to free himself. Then he gave up and

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

† McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

lay listening. For a while he lay there and lay there; then he heard someone alight above. The one who had alighted above knew already. So he went peck-pecking all around and freed him, went peck-pecking and freed him. So Coyote was freed and said, ¹²⁰“Nephew, I must have slept here.”

57. ¹²¹COYOTE AND TOAD*

Coyote had a toad for a wife. She had warts on her back from Coyote's beatings.

Some one called a big time. They were going to dance. It was a long way off. Coyote went and left his wife at home. He went and danced. He liked to dance. He saw a good-looking girl. He sang a song saying he was going to have her as a partner. He secured her as a partner. They went off into the bushes and slept together. In the morning when he woke up he saw that the girl was Toad. He beat her and sent her home. He was very angry; he almost killed her. This same thing happened several nights in succession. Coyote beat Toad so much that his wrists became limber.

58. ¹²²COYOTE AND BULLFISH†

Coyote was going up the river to visit someone. He was very well dressed. He had his quiver, bow and arrows, moccasins, and beads. He looked very fine. It was a hot summer day. He came to a nice stretch of sand. He saw Bullfish sunning himself. He was black as charcoal. Coyote said, “What are you doing there?” Bullfish didn't say a word. Coyote talked and talked but Bullfish never answered. At last Coyote said, “You are pretty small. You are too little to do anything. I bet you can't swallow my toe,” and at the same time he thrust his toe in front of Bullfish' mouth. Bullfish just turned his head away. Then Coyote said, “I'll give you my bow and arrows if you bite me.” He teased Bullfish that way for a long time. Finally Bullfish nipped Coyote's toe. Coyote did not pay any attention to him; he only continued to taunt him. Soon Bullfish had swallowed Coyote's leg; Coyote became frightened and begged for mercy but Bullfish ignored him and kept on swallowing him. Coyote offered him all his fine things, but Bullfish just swallowed him entirely and swam off under a rock in the riffle.

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

† Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

The people missed Coyote. They hunted for him and found his valuables on the sand and saw the track where he had been dragged in. So they asked a doctor to find out where he was. He went into a trance and about the middle of the night said that he was under the water, that Bullfish had swallowed him, but that he was not yet dead.

Then Bullfish made the water muddy so the people could not find him. Otter, Raccoon, everyone hunted for Coyote but they could not find him. At last k'untile (trans., mud spear, an unidentified water bird) climbed a tree and looked. He said, "I see a tail under a rock in the riffle. I am going to try to spear him." So he took a spear pole, aimed carefully, and speared Bullfish right above the tail. The people pulled him out and cut open his abdomen. Coyote jumped out and said, ¹²³"Nephew, I have been sleeping." [Considered a very amusing climax.]

59. COYOTE EATS GRASSHOPPERS*

Coyote lived at Shasta Buttes with his nephew. His nephew never spoke. Coyote lay there by the fire hungry; spring did not seem to come that year; he lay there by the fire, just skin and bones. His nephew never spoke. Coyote looked out of the smoke hole and saw Jaybird, he saw him come in the smoke hole with a hazel-nut in his mouth, then Coyote thought, "It must be summer outside." He got up and went outside. He walked a short distance and saw summer was far advanced in Shasta valley. He saw smoke in the valley. He went toward the big flat near Gazelle. People were burning the flat for grasshoppers. Coyote saw plenty of them but he would not eat them. He said, "They smell bad." Finally he ate one, then he crawled along eating burned grasshoppers as he went. He did not seem to get enough, he was still hungry. He looked back and saw that the grasshoppers had passed right through his intestines. He was so empty he could not hold any food. Then he went to Scarfish Gulch, got some pitch and plugged up his anus, then he began eating again. He ate and ate. Then he looked around. He thought it was going to rain because it was so dark and cloudy. Suddenly he discovered that he had crawled near the fire and that his tail had burned melting the pitch so that the grasshoppers had passed through his intestines again. He jumped up and ran to the creek. He was half burned up. He lay there in the creek.

* Upper Sacramento; Jo Bender.

Ten little girls came to the creek. They stuck him in the eye with a stick. He said, "Stop, I'm sleeping." Then he looked at them and said, "Come here, nieces." They were afraid of him but finally they approached. He said, "Go get me willow leaves." They got them for him and he stuck them in the arms of the ten little girls. Then he said, "Fly." They all flew up. They became little ducks. Coyote said, "That is the way you people had better travel."

'60. COYOTE AND HIS GRANDDAUGHTER*¹²⁴

Coyote lived with his granddaughter. They lived there long, separate from the rest of the people and Coyote, the old man, was very old. He lay there by the edge of the fire, he lay spotted with soot. Coyote could not even get up. He lay there long, then he said to his granddaughter, "You had better go north across the stream," he said. "My relative-in-law eats venison," he said. So the girl got a carrying basket and left. With the basket on her back she went northward across the stream. She got out of sight. Then Coyote got up. ¹²⁵He lifted his house, went eastward around the hill and then took it northward, crossed to the north side of the stream, set it down across the north side of the water. There he wished, "House, be nice," he said. Then there was plenty of venison, dried venison all around the house. Toward evening he had fresh venison in the house. Then he made himself into a handsome man.

Now this girl came and crossed the stream. She arrived at the house. She arrived in the evening. He said, "Come in." She came in. Then after she had come in, she sat on one side of the fire. He gave her soup, cooked venison he gave her. "Put this in your mouth," he said. "There is nothing to eat," he said, "for I live all alone." So she put something in her mouth and ate, and then lay down to one side. Early in the morning she got up, and he gave her venison. "Here, take this along. Let my relative-in-law eat it," he said. So she packed it and put it in the basket. Then she left. As before, she got out of sight. And as before, he lifted the house and came across there to the south side of the stream, and around the hill to the south he set it down, right there where it had been before. Then the old man got in and lay down, made himself ugly, and lay there. After a while she came, took cooked venison out of the basket and gave it to him. "Here, grandfather, eat venison," she said. And the old

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

man got up. He got up and ate. "Did you find my relative-in-law," he said, "in the north across the stream?" "Yes," said the girl, his granddaughter.

So they stayed there a little while longer. Then again as before, "Granddaughter," he said, "you had better go north across the stream." They did this for a long time. "You had better go, granddaughter, north across the stream," he said. And again, as before, he lifted the house, carried it across to the north, and put it down on the ground. There on the same place as before. As before, he had much venison. And the girl came, as before. She came in the evening. "Come in," he said. He gave her venison, gave her soup. "Eat," he said. They ate and went to bed. Early in the morning they got up, they ate, and as before he gave her venison. "Take this along," he said. "Let my relative-in-law eat much," he said. So she left, the girl left. And as before, Coyote lifted the house and came and set it down right there, around the hill southward. As before, he went in and lay down, made himself ugly, and lay there. After a while the girl arrived. She came in and said, "You are up to something," she said. "You are the one who is bothering me," she said. So she took a stick and beat him. The old man went out when he was beaten. She beat him to death. This is all. It is finished. Coyote was killed.¹²⁶

'61. COYOTE AND THE DUCKS*

Coyote of the myths came into being. It was there at Stillwater. Across on the north side of the water lived two Duck maidens. And Coyote living there at Stillwater was puzzled how to get to them. He thought, and as he thought he got an idea, ¹²⁷so he chopped off his erect penis. Then he swam. This was in the autumn when the water-oak acorns fall. And he went and got a stone from under a tree. This he threw up and hit what was above. When hit, the water-oak acorns fell. He kept picking them up. He sprinkled them with semen; he sprinkled them and said, "Be sweet." Then he pretended to hit the thing in the baby basket on top of the head. And he went, he went toward the north side of the water. The women across to the north heard him come crying. He came northward down the hill, reached the shore and sat there crying after he had come to the shore. And the two across on the north side, the two Duck

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

maidens, said, ¹²⁸“Grandmother has come down to the shore. Let’s go help her wade,” they said. They waded, they waded across to the south side of the stream. “Hello, grandmother,” they said. “Are you going somewhere?” they said. Then, “Bring the one in the baby basket. Let’s carry it in our arms,” they said. “No,” he said. “Let me keep it,” he said. He gave them the water acorns. “Eat,” he said. They took them and ate, and the water acorns tasted sweet to them when they ate them; the water acorns which had been sprinkled tasted sweet. After eating they said, “Let’s go,” planning to wade across the water. “Let me be in the middle,” he said. So they took him by the hand and put him between them. “Let’s wade like this,” they said. Then Coyote wished, “May the water be red with mud,” he said. “May the water be high,” he said. So they all went in the midst of the water. “Something moves about my underparts,” they said. Coyote said, “It is the same with me,” he said. “Something moves about my underparts,” he said. They went wading northward, and they got on the north side having waded across.

So the Duck maidens got out on the north side of the river. After they got out on the north side, they bore children.

¹²⁹And Coyote ran, he chased down the river. And while he was running he was trying to hang his penis on himself. He went trying to hang his penis on himself while running. Going downhill to the south he arrived at the riffle. He waded into the stream. He stuck a dipnet into the water. He got it full. He emptied it. Then down he went to the south. He stuck the dipnet into the water again at another riffle. Then he got it full, he caught many in his net. In this way he got all. He got them out. Then he gave names to all his children, naming them names. “Stump-fathered (bastard) you shall be,” he said. “Other-head-talk you shall be,” he said. “And you shall be Carrying-stones-on-the-back,” he said. “Scared-of-your-own-ears you shall be,” he said. To the last ones he gave bad names. “Excreting-twisted-faeces you shall be,” he said. Of those who had received bad names, many were crying. So they fought him; hit him on the head with stones; killed him. This is all.

62. COYOTE AND THE GIRLS WHO WERE IN SWIMMING*

Coyote came across some girls who were in swimming. They did not have on any clothes. Coyote hid in the bushes and watched them. He commented to himself on the size of their genitals and on their pubic hair. Then he saw a young girl who was still immature. Suddenly the girls heard, "tub" (noise made by Coyote as he dived into the water). Coyote dived into the water. He dived between the young girl's legs and raped her. Then he got out on the bank and mocked the others by calling, "tub, tub," at them.

63. COYOTE AS ¹³⁰DOCTOR†

Coyote was called to doctor and arrived. He arrived toward evening coming to smoke, coming to doctor. After he had smoked he doctored. All the rest sat in the house. The sick one was a woman who had never known man. So he doctored, kept on singing, hitting two sticks together to keep time. He doctored in this way, and finally he said, "Go outside; sing outside," he said. Then, "Stop up all the holes," he said. "Make the room dark," he said. Then "Clap the sticks hard together," he said. So they sang hard outside. And he who was inside copulated with the woman. Everything was still. Then those who were outside said, "What is happening? Look and see," they said. So one of them pushed the door in at one side and stuck his head in. Behold, he lay copulating with the woman. "The meddlesome one is copulating with her," he said. They took sticks and hit him. He jumped up when he was hit, but his penis was inserted and the woman could not release it. However they continued to hit Coyote. They clubbed him with sticks. So after he had been clubbed a while his penis became limp, and came out, and he ran away. He ran clapping his hands, "This is the way you should call a doctor," he said. "This is the way you should call men for doctors to come and treat women," he said, clapping his hands. That is all.

The following introduction to this same story was given by Jo Bender of the Upper Sacramento.

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

† Upper Sacramento; Syke Mitchell.

From the south, Coyote came northward to the McCloud, came northward. From there he came northward, and at the McCloud came in full sight of the north. He saw a dwelling on the eastern bank of the river. He lay down, and lay there, he lay with his legs crossed. ¹³¹The people on the eastern bank kept going back and forth, then the people spoke, "Oh you person to the west across the river, we have sickness in our midst; if you happen to be a doctor, come," they said. Coyote listened and lay looking about, facing the north there. The people said, "We mean you who lie on the western bank; we mean you who are facing the north." Coyote turned and faced south. "Oh you who lie on the western bank of the river, we mean you; we mean you who are facing south." Coyote got up and sat down facing east. "Oh you who are sitting on the western bank of the river, we mean you who are sitting facing east." Coyote thought, "They mean me. I'd better go." He went east downhill, arrived down there at the edge of the water, stripped off his clothes and swam. He landed on the east side of the river and went and reached the house of the people.

From here on the story follows as given above.

64. COYOTE AND CROW*

Coyote was traveling toward the north. He started from down south and soon he reached McCloud river.

All the girls said, "When Coyote meets us he never gives us any rest; he won't let us do any work; he keeps us out all night." Finally one suggested, "I'll lie in the trail and when he passes I'll speak to him." The others said, "You must not have anything to do with him." "Well, I don't have to," she said.

Then this little girl lay in the trail and when Coyote passed by she called to him and asked him where he was going. Coyote stopped and looked all around. He did not see anyone. So he started on again. Again he heard someone call to him. It made him glad to think that there were women around, so he looked all about but he could not find the one who was calling him. He started on again. Again he heard someone calling to him. He went back, and hunted, and hunted. He could find no one. So he started on again, and again he heard someone call to him. "Come back," she said. So he went back and

* McCloud; EDC Thomas.

hunted some more. Finally he lifted a leaf and found a tiny insect. "Have you been calling me?" he said. "You are too small. I cannot have intercourse with you. I could not find your private parts. I'll call you cousin, aunt, step-mother, anything you want." But the insect said, "No, I don't want that." Coyote asked her, "Do you really want to be courted?" She nodded her head. "Yes," she said. So Coyote picked her up and placed her on his genitals.

Then Coyote continued on his way traveling north. He went on for a short way and he began to itch, and burn, and smart. He went into the river to gain relief from the pain but it was of no use. He kept on traveling north until he came to the sandbar north of Nosono. There he thrust his penis into the hot sand to relieve the pain and swelling. It only kept on getting worse. So at last he cut off his penis and threw it into the river. He kept on going toward the north.

The next spring he came south down the river. When he came to the whirlpool near Nosono he said, "I'll look here and see if there are any dead salmon." He looked and saw a big fat female. He carried it south to a place on the east bank. There he roasted it and began eating it. Crow came and sat on a branch near to where Coyote was. Coyote, talking out loud to himself, said, "I'm eating something and you want some of it but you are not going to get it. You can eat the coals when I am through." Then Crow said, ¹³²"Coyote is eating his own penis which he threw into the river." Coyote vomited his meal and ran away.

65. COYOTE AND DENTALIUM*

Dentalium had been gambling. He gambled away all that he had. He was gone some time. He came home hungry and asked his wife for food. ¹³³His wife answered, "I haven't anything to eat. Why don't you eat what you gambled away?" This made him angry and he went north. On the way he met Coyote. "Nephew, where are you going?" he asked. "I am traveling a long way north," Dentalium told him. Coyote asked to go along but Dentalium said he was going a very long way. "There won't be anything to eat, there won't be any water," he said. Coyote kept on coaxing him, so finally he let Coyote go with him.

* McCloud; Syke Mitchell.

They traveled north. Coyote got hungry and thirsty, but Dentalium carried his food and water with him. It lasted a long time. Coyote became so weak he could hardly walk, ¹³⁴so Dentalium gave him a tiny basket of water. Coyote said, "That is too small." He began drinking the water but he could not finish it. It was the same way with the food that Dentalium gave him. He could not finish a very small portion of salmon flour.

They kept on traveling and by and by they came to North-wind-gap. Coyote followed right behind Dentalium. Dentalium said, "Now we have to go over this mountain." Then the wind began to blow. Dentalium said, "Are you coming?" "Yes," said Coyote. And then they came nearer to the top of the mountain; it was getting windier and colder. Dentalium asked again "Are you coming?" "There is too much wind. I can't walk," Coyote answered. So Dentalium carried Coyote. They were very near the top now. The wind blew so hard that Coyote lost first one leg and then his other leg; then he lost both arms. They were blown away. Dentalium asked, "Are you there?" "Yes," he said. Soon Dentalium asked again, "Are you there?" There was no answer. Coyote had been blown away.

When Dentalium reached the top he was picked up and blown around in the air. Finally he fell on a nice big flat with nice grass. He fell on a pile of driftwood. Dentalium and Coyote both fell on it. They were dead. They began swelling. Two sisters found them. The younger sister said, "That smells," but the older sister took them home in a basket. Dentalium came to life. Coyote came to life, too. Then they married the two sisters and lived there.

66. LIZARD AND THE GRIZZLY BEAR SISTERS*

¹³⁵There was a little black lizard whose family had all died. He lived alone with his grandmother. There were two Grizzly Bear sisters of whom all the men were afraid. One day Lizard said to his grandmother, "Grandmother, I am going to see those two Grizzly Bear women anyway." So his grandmother covered his body with pitch and sprinkled him all over with powdered flint. ¹³⁶He carried some powdered flint along with him in his hand. Then he went to see the two women. He lay down between them and embraced them. Both women felt hot and damp. Then the little fellow left. In the morning the two women saw that they were covered with blood. They had been cut all over with the powdered flint.

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

67. LIZARD*

Once there was a tiny Lizard. There were many brothers. One kept thinking all the time of a girl, so he went to see Grizzly Bear woman. Grizzly Bear woman always killed and ate the men who came to see her. The next morning the lizard who had gone to see her did not return. Grizzly Bear woman had eaten him. A brother of the lizard went to look for him, but he also failed to return. This continued for a long time. Finally she had eaten them all up but the smallest brother. The little fellow thought hard of a way to get Grizzly Bear woman. He started out crying all the while "He, ʔe, ʔe, ʔe, he, ʔe, ʔe, ʔe." At last he came to the house where Grizzly Bear woman lived. He thought a while about what he should say and do. He said, "Give me a drink of water." She was angry and would not move. Then he began crying again, "He, ʔe, ʔe, ʔe," because he saw many bones lying around the house and he thought of his brothers. He said again, "I asked you for a drink of water." He went up to her and cut her wrist. Then she got up and gave him a drink of water. She said, "I didn't know whether or not you drank that water." She stood close to him. He told her to lie on her back. She would not do it. He repeated, "I told you to lie on your back," and he cut her across the chest. Then she lay down on her back. He said, "Spread your legs apart." She would not do it. He repeated, "I told you to spread your legs apart," and he cut her across the chest. Then she did as she was told. Lizard crawled close to her. "Now," he said, "open the lips of your vulva." She answered, "It isn't up to me to do that. It is up to the man." "Don't say that again," he answered and cut her across the arm. So she did as she was told. "Now," he said, "insert my penis." She was angry and said, "It is up to you to do that. Do it yourself." "Don't say that again. I told you to do it," and once more he cut her. So she did as she was told. Next he ordered, "Make copulative movements." She replied, "Do it yourself." He said, "Open your legs wider." She did. He said again, "I told you to make copulative movements." Then she answered, "Do it yourself. It is up to a man to do that." He cut her throat and killed her.

* McCloud; Jenny Curl.

68. OLD MAN K'AM*

¹³⁷K'am lived all alone. An old woman had two fawn children. She sent them over to see K'am, their uncle. They went over to where he lived and said, "Uncle, are you there? How are you getting along?" He said, "Yes, I'm here. How is your aunt getting along, the one who has pubic hair like a bear hide?"

The boys went back and the old woman asked them, "How is the old man?" The boys said, "He's all right." Then the old woman said, "What did he say about me?" The boys answered, "He said that you have pubic hair like a bear hide." "Why does he want to talk about me in that way? I am going over there to get even with him," she said.

She went over and stood in the door. "Are you there?" "Yes." "Where shall I sit down? Do you hear me, where shall I sit down?" "On the other side. There is plenty of room." She said again, "Where shall I sit down?" "You can sit down here near my head." She kept on scolding and asking where she should be seated. Finally the old man said, "Well if you aren't satisfied you can come and sit on my penis." So she jumped up and went and sat on his penis. They copulated. When he released semen it shot out through her mouth. He then jerked out his penis and she fell back out through the door unconscious. She lay there some time, but the old man never went out. When she came to, she got up and said, "Say, old man, I guess I killed you." She went back home and told the boys, "Well, I guess I killed your uncle. You had better go to see him."

In a version given by another Bald Hills informant the two grandchildren are mice. From the above incident the story continued as follows:

Finally the mice ran away. The boy said, "Sister, when you see that earth move, never put your hand on it." They were smoking mice. Soon the earth moved. The sister put her hand on it. A snake bit her and she died. The brother carried her on his back, singing a song as he went.

The informant here broke down and was not able to remember the story beyond this point. However he did know that there followed a gathering of mice. Also he gave the song which was sung at this gathering, which was as follows:

Hono, hono, honoy ye (crying sound of mice)

Matla haitet keni teplatet.

In this connection it is interesting to note an incident told as a separate story by the informant who gave the body of the Old Man K'am story here recorded.

* Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

Many mice lay around sunning themselves. They were feeling fine. Another mouse came up and said to one of them, "What can you be thinking of, to lie around here feeling fine and looking happy! Don't you know your sister was buried down in the lower end of the flat last night?" So the mouse began to cry:

"Honoy, honoy ye, honoy ye,
Netla haitet keni teplatet."

All became frightened and turned to mice.

69. BOY AND THE ABALONE*

A boy was brought up by his grandmother. She went off to the hills to gather greens. Before she left she said to the boy, "Grandson, leave that basket alone; don't lift it up." When she left the boy raised the basket to see what was under it, and an abalone jumped out. It hopped along. The boy ran after it and tried to put the basket down over it again. He tried to catch it but he could not. The abalone kept on hopping and the boy kept on following it. The old woman who was up in the hills knew something had happened. She came home that evening and said to herself, "I told him to leave that basket alone."

That night the boy did not come home for supper. He kept on following the abalone night and day. The abalone kept on going. Then it jumped into the ocean. Ever since then there have been abalone in the ocean and none here on the Pit River.

70. MOSQUITO AND THUNDER†

¹³⁸Long before this world existed, there was Mosquito who sucked the blood out of people. He sucked so much his stomach was full and he could hardly fly. He went up above and gave some of the blood to Thunder. Thunder said, "This is fine. Where did you get it?" Mosquito answered, "I got it from the biggest trees that grow high up on the mountains. The little trees haven't any blood." That is why Thunder and Lightning, who works with him, always strike the big trees up on the mountains. They are looking for blood. If Mosquito had told him the truth, Thunder and Lightning would get people.

*Stillwater; Anne Griffen.

† Bald Hills; Harry Marsh.

71. MOLE AND MOUNT SHASTA*

Mole wanted to build Mount Shasta. He wanted to make it higher than any other mountain. But in making it he turned his wrist and could not finish the peak as he had planned. That is the reason that Mole still has a broken wrist.

72. GOPHER†

Gopher went to live on the top of Jerusalem mountain. It rained, and rained, and rained all winter. When it stopped, Gopher came out of her hole and looked down at the river below. She thought the land had been flooded. She thought all the people must have been drowned, so she sat on top of the mountain and called out loudly, "Now see what has happened! I told you people to come up to this high mountain to live. As I look down I see that the place where you lived is covered with water. You must all have drowned. I am sorry for all of you people who have drowned."

73. THE RACE‡

A long time ago these two were human. They were traveling along near Cow Creek, where there is a big bare hill. They looked up at the hill and Penis said, "Let's race and see who gets over the ridge first." Vulva answered, "I can't run over that hill." He kept on insisting, so finally she gave in. "All right," she said. He said, "You go first. I'll catch up with you before you get halfway up." She started running. In those days women were fast runners. She got almost to the top and looked back to see where he was. Penis ran along saying, ¹³⁹"Lube-lub, lube-lub." When she ran she said, "Take-take, take-take."

When she looked back she heard him coming along saying, "Lube-lub, lube-lub." She wilted right there. If she had not, women would be fast runners today.¹⁴⁰

* McCloud; Susie Popejoy.

† Bald Hills; Sarah Fan.

‡ McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

74. WOMAN AND THE LIZARD*

A woman said, "I am going out to dig Indian potatoes." She came home late that evening with a basketful. This happened several times and her husband became suspicious. So one day he followed her. He saw her fill her basket quickly and then he saw a man approach her. They went off into the brush together. Her husband crept up near the place and saw the woman lying in the brush. The apron covering her genitals was moving up and down. He went nearer and saw that a big brown lizard was copulating with her. The lizard withdrew his penis and the woman died from it.

75. SIBIT'SIBIT†

It was stormy and windy. Sibit'sibit did not know what to do. He kept singing a song to make the rain and wind stop. He had been brought up by his grandmother. He said, "Grandmother, give me what I want." So his grandmother gave him everything. He would not take anything she offered him. She gave him everything down to her apron. Still he was not satisfied. Finally she gave him some of her pubic hair. This he accepted. He put it on his head and it stopped raining. Ever since then Sibit'sibit has had a crest.

* McCloud; Sadie Marsh.

† McCloud; Sadie Marsh. Sibit'sibit is an unidentified bird.

NOTES

(Note: Numbers for comparative notes are placed in the text at the beginning of the incident referred to; numbers for other notes follow the word or sentence.)

¹ Stories about a Departed Race are prevalent throughout California; see: Gifford, 312; Goddard, Hupa, 218 and *passim*; Dixon, N. Maidu, 334, Maidu texts, *passim*, System, 33; Barrett, Myths, 2, Comp. myth 47; Frachtenberg, 211; DuBois, Myth. Mission, 58; Merriam, 87, 171; Curtin, Creation, 4, 446, 466; Kroeber, Hndb. 637; Bancroft, 163, 175; Steward.*

² For Flood stories see: Gifford, 310; Curtin, Creation, 21; Harrington, 330, 333, 336; Kroeber, Hndb. 638, Two myths, 315, Wishosk, 96; Merriam, 101, 145, 157; Mason, 82, 105; Dixon, Maidu texts 41, Shasta-Ach. 609, Chimariko, 346; Bancroft, 86, 89, 547, 548; Goddard, Chilula, 373, Kato, 186; Radin, 45, 63; Powers, 70, 111, 200, 290; Frachtenberg, 210; DuBois, Religion, 157; Denny, 25:269; Reichard, 175; Steward; present work tales nos. 2, 3.

³ See tales no. 1, 3, and note 2.

⁴ See tales no. 1, 2, and note 2.

⁵ Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 202, 205, 211, 219, 229, Hndb. 549; Gifford, 312; Powers, 226; 383; Barrett, Myths, 5; Mason, 82, 105; Dixon, Maidu myths, 39; Gayton, Yokuts, Western Mono.

⁶ For Primeval Water see: Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 119, 202, 204, 209, 218, 229, Hndb. 206, 472, 549, 598, Wishosk, 97, Chemehuevi, 240; Goddard, Kato, 183; Merriam, 203; Dixon, Achomawi, 159, 170, Maidu texts, 11, Maidu myths, 39, Shasta-Ach. 608; Bancroft, 88, 124; Harrington, 328; Barrett, Myths, 4; Powers, 226, 383; Frachtenberg, 224; DuBois, Ceremonies, 236; Steward; Gayton, Yokuts, Western Mono; Lowie, Shosh. 1.

⁷ The title of this story according to the informant means "going mad." Literally it means "Woods (?) going south."

⁸ Dixon, System, 33; Gayton, Yokuts, Western Mono.

⁹ Curtin, Creation, 121, Achomawi, 286; Frachtenberg, 211; Kroeber, Karok, 3825; Denny, 25:161; Radin, 101. Cf. Curtin, Creation, 286, 401, 433, 437; Sapir, 71.

¹⁰ Curtin, Creation, 121, 309, 313; Burns, 397; Goddard, Hupa, 146; Reichard, 163; Sapir, 21.

¹¹ Goddard, Chilula, 352, 366; Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 220, 225, 226.

¹² Dixon, Maidu myths, 67; Merriam, 191; Powers, 299; Curtin, Creation, 125, 193.

¹³ Curtin, Creation, 126, 194; cf. *ibid.*, 128.

¹⁴ Curtin, Creation, 128; Burns, 398.

¹⁵ Cf. Curtin, Creation, 137, 433; Barrett, Comp. myth. 45; Sapir, 70, 283.

¹⁶ Curtin, Creation, 124; Goddard, Kato, 208, Hupa, 133, 177.

¹⁷ Burns, 399; Gifford, 299; present work tale no. 66. Cf. Curtin, Creation, 306; Sapir, 21; Lowie, Shosh. 93.

¹⁸ See note 15.

¹⁹ Curtin, Creation, 139.

²⁰ Curtin, Creation, 144.

²¹ Curtin, Creation, 145; Burns, 401.

²² Curtin, Creation, 150; Kroeber, Karok, 3825; Burns, 400; Denny, 25:162.

²³ Curtin, Creation, 152, 291; Burns, 403; Denny, 25:165; Sapir, 234; Kroeber, Karok, 3825; Steward.

* The complete titles are given in the terminal Bibliography. The abbreviations are self-explanatory: N. stands for Northern, Hndb. for Handbook, Myth. for Mythology.

²⁴ Curtin, Creation, 134; Sapir, 234; Kroeber, Karok, 3825, Hndb. 74. Cf. Gifford, 308; Barrett, Myths, 11; Merriam, 183, 214; Gayton, Yokuts, Western Mono.

²⁵ Curtin, Creation, 150; present work tale no. 33.

²⁶ Variation of Life Token. For Life Token see: Ried, 23; Curtin, Creation, 300, 392; Merriam, 79; DuBois, Chaup, 233, 234, Myth. Mission, 19:154; Barrett, Myths, 8; Radin, 49; Gifford, 333; Dixon, Maidu myths, 80, 104; Kroeber, Karok, 3825; Steward.

²⁷ Immaculate Conception in various forms is common in northern California. See: Goddard, Hupa, 125, 193, 279, 287; Kroeber, Wishosk, 96, Karok, 3763; Curtin, Creation, 348.

²⁸ For Thunder Twins see: Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 204, 215; Merriam, 173; Gayton, Western Mono.

²⁹ For Fountain of Youth see: Curtin, Creation, 164; Dixon, Maidu texts, 67; Goddard, Chilula, 373.

³⁰ For Coyote as Marplot see: Curtin, Creation, 166; Powers, 273, 341; Kroeber, Hndb. 182; Gifford, 333; Dixon, N. Maidu, 334, Maidu texts, 27, Maidu myths, 43, Achomawi, 170, Shasta-Ach. 608.

³¹ See tale no. 54.

³² For Death Controversy see: Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 203, 205, 212. Hndb. 74, 120, 362, 619, 692, Wishosk, 95, 99, Two myths, 313; Curtin, Creation, 164; Powers, 273, 341; DuBois, Myth. Diegueño, 183; Sapir, 91; Reichard, 183; Dixon, Maidu texts, 29, 53, Shasta, 19, 20; Frachtenberg, 209; Merriam, 55, 56; Steward; Gayton, Western Mono; Lowie, Shosh. 2, 5.

³³ For Originator of Death, the First Sufferer see: Curtin, Creation, 174; Kroeber, Hndb. 120, 362 Wishosk, 99; Sapir, 92; Reichard, 183; Dixon, Maidu texts, 54, Maidu myths, 43, Shasta, 19, 20; Frachtenberg, 209; Powers, 341; Merriam, 56; Steward; Gayton, Yokuts; Lowie, Shosh. 3.

³⁴ In Wintu the word for dawn is the same as that for daylight.

³⁵ Curtin, Creation, 215; Goddard, Lassik, 136; cf. Theft of Sun; Kroeber, Hndb. 155, 270, 510, S. C. Calif. 213; Goddard, Kato, 191; Radin, 143; Barrett, Myths 20, Comp. myth 44; Merriam, 39; and Theft of Morning: Merriam, 45. See also tale no. 12.

³⁶ Dixon, Achomawi, 160, 174.

³⁷ Curtin, Creation, 215; Kroeber, Hndb. 73, Karok, 3799; Sapir, 224.

³⁸ For Resuscitation in Water see tale no. 37, and note 90.

³⁹ For Resuscitation from Hair see: Curtin, Creation, 347; Kroeber, Karok, 3860; Lowie, Shosh. 167, 213. Cf. Kroeber, Karok, 3899.

⁴⁰ Bancroft, 115; Dixon, Maidu texts, 169, Maidu myths, 67, Shasta, 13, Achomawi, 165, 175, Chimariko, 353; Curtin, Creation, 29, 367; Sapir, 33; Mason, 83, 107; Merriam, 33, 49, 61, 89, 90, 149, 153; Burns, 133; Kroeber, Karok, 3799, 3866, 3868, S. C. Calif. 203, 211, 219; Powers, 39, 71, 273, 343, 395; Stewart, Two Yokuts, 238, Yokuts, 322; Frachtenberg, 209, 242; Goddard, Kato, 196; Gifford, 285, 332; Steward; Gayton, Yokuts, Western Mono; Lowie, Shosh. 6, 117, 229; present work tale no 12. Cf. Dixon, Maidu myths, 91.

⁴¹ For Relay Theft of Fire see: Bancroft, 116; Dixon, Chimariko, 353, Shasta, 13; Kroeber, Karok, 3799, 3866; Powers, 39; Burns, 133; Sapir, 33; Frachtenberg, 209. Cf. Dixon, Maidu myths, 91; and Relay Theft of Pine Nuts: Lowie, Shosh. 215, 219.

⁴² See tale no. 28, and note 61.

⁴³ For Growing Fugitive see: Dixon, Maidu texts, 231; Goddard, Hupa, 188; Kato, 202; Kroeber, Karok, 3763; Steward.

⁴⁴ According to one informant, this story is the first of a trilogy. The second story records the further adventures of the two brothers (see Huhurit) and the third the adventures of Nordalwelimak among the Grizzly Bear people (see Nordalmunoko).

⁴⁵ For Kidnapped Brother see: Gifford, 322; Curtin, Creation, 231; Goddard, Hupa, 154; Denny 25:451; Dixon, Shasta, 12, Achomawi, 167, Maidu myths, 98; Sapir, 214; Kroeber, Karok, 3801; Lowie, Shosh. 239.

⁴⁶ These brothers are also known as Norwantakas and K'eri (Kerih).

- ⁴⁷ See tale no. 29.
- ⁴⁸ For Spider's Sky-rope see: Curtin, *Creation*, 232, 294, 411; Dixon, *Achomawi*, 166, 167; Frachtenberg, 217; Denny, 25:452; Kroeber, *Wishosk*, 98; Sapir, 34, 135; Powers, 70; Barrett, *Comp. myth*, 39; Goddard, *Hupa*, 155; Steward. Cf. Kroeber, *S. C. Calif.* 209; Dixon, *Maidu texts*, 187 *Maidu myths*, 39; Merriam, 167; Barrett, *Myths*, 18; Gifford, 319.
- ⁴⁹ Radin, 19.
- ⁵⁰ Kroeber, *Karok*, 3747, 3801; Denny, 25:454; Goddard, *Hupa*, 155, *Lassik*, 137; Barrett, *Comp. myth* 37; present work tale no. 61.
- ⁵¹ Dixon, *Shasta*, 10; Sapir, 158, 216; Curtin, *Creation*, 318, 360; Burns, 312; Frachtenberg, 237; Lowie, *Shosh.* 99, 241.
- ⁵² See tales no 33, 38.
- ⁵³ Curtin, *Creation*, 286, 401, 437; present work tales no. 20, 21.
- ⁵⁴ See tales no. 19, 21, and note 53.
- ⁵⁵ See tale no. 22.
- ⁵⁶ See tales no. 19, 20, and note 53.
- ⁵⁷ This version is probably incomplete.
- ⁵⁸ See tale no. 20.
- ⁵⁹ See tale no. 37, and note 84.
- ⁶⁰ Here the story was expurgated by the informant.
- ⁶¹ Goddard, *Kato*, 205.
- ⁶² See tale no. 18.
- ⁶³ Dixon, *Chimariko*, 349; Lowie, *Shosh.* 13, 178.
- ⁶⁴ See tale no. 31.
- ⁶⁵ For Gluttonous Husband see: Kroeber, *Karok*, 3787; Denny, 26:267. Cf. Kroeber, *S. C. Calif.* 201.
- ⁶⁶ See tale no. 30.
- ⁶⁷ Dixon, *Maidu texts*, 193.
- ⁶⁸ For *Suptit* see tale no. 7, and note 25.
- ⁶⁹ Cf. myth with Kroeber, *Karok*, 3860.
- ⁷⁰ See tales no. 18, 38.
- ⁷¹ Skunk throughout is considered a humorous character.
- ⁷² Baskets were wedged in the mouth of the corridors leading into bark houses and thus they served as doors.
- ⁷³ Frachtenberg, 232; Goddard, *Lassik*, 138, *Hupa*, 154. Cf. Barrett, *Comp. Myth* 45; Dixon, *Shasta*, 12; Denny, 25:454.
- ⁷⁴ Cf. Frachtenberg, 270; Goddard, *Hupa*, 149, 168.
- ⁷⁵ Cf. Dixon, *Maidu myths*, 52.
- ⁷⁶ For Bear and Deer see: Goddard, *Kato*, 221, *Lassik*, 135; Merriam, 108, 112; Radin, 47; Mason, 116; Powers, 341; Kroeber, *Two myths*, 309, *S. C. Calif.* 203; Dixon, *Maidu myths*, 79, 80, 81; Sapir, 207; Gifford, 286, 334; Steward.
- ⁷⁷ Radin, 49; Goddard, *Hupa*, 124.
- ⁷⁸ For *Thyestian Dish* see: Goddard, *Kato*, 222, *Lassik*, 135; Mason, 116; Curtin, *Creation*, 305, 307, 319; Sapir, 225; Gifford, 298; Steward; Lowie, *Shosh.* 171, 168.
- ⁷⁹ Goddard, *Lassik*, 136, *Kato*, 222; Radin, 49; Dixon, *Maidu myths*, 80; Curtin, *Creation*, 450, 451; Gifford, 289; Steward.
- ⁸⁰ Goddard, *Lassik*, 136; Radin, 49; present work tale no. 39.
- ⁸¹ Gifford, 291, 334; Kroeber, *Hndb.* 74; Merriam, 107, 112; Dixon, *Maidu myths*, 80, 81, 82; Mason, 63; Frachtenberg, 216; Reichard, 197; Powers, 342; Steward.
- ⁸² For *Loon Woman* see: Dixon, *Shasta*, 9, *Maidu myths*, 71, *Achomawi*, 166, 175, *Shasta-Ach.* 609; Sapir, 229; Curtin, *Creation*, 407; Kroeber, *Karok*, 3799; Frachtenberg, 212; present work tale no. 38.
- ⁸³ For the *Hidden Child* see: Curtin, *Achomawi*, 284, 287, *Creation*, 343, 349, 421; Kroeber, *Karok*, 3799; Frachtenberg, 212, 213; Dixon, *Achomawi*, 165; Sapir, 229; Steward.

⁸⁴ Dixon, Shasta, 14; Kroeber, Karok, 3799; Frachtenberg, 213; present work tale no. 25.

⁸⁵ See note 76.

⁸⁶ Frachtenberg, 213; Dixon, Maidu myths, 73, Shasta, 14; Curtin, Creation, 407; present work tale no. 38.

⁸⁷ For Log Substitution see Shasta and Karok versions; cf. Dixon, Maidu texts, 63.

⁸⁸ Frachtenberg, 213; Dixon, Shasta, 15, Maidu myths, 74, Achomawi, 176; Sapir, 231.

⁸⁹ For Achilles Heel see: Merriam, 76, 170, 235; Goddard, Chilula, 353, 367, Hupa, 330, Kato, 225; Kroeber, Karok, 3799; Burns, 401; Radin, 23, 31, 33; Dixon, Shasta, 15, Maidu myths, 71, 92; Barrett, Myths, 2, 7; Frachtenberg, 214; Curtin, Creation, 318, 480; Gifford, 297.

⁹⁰ For Resuscitation in Water see: Dixon, Maidu myths, 43, 75, 97, Maidu texts, 87, 129, 189, 239, Achomawi, 166, 177; Sapir, 221; Curtin, Creation, 342, 347, 384, 420, Achomawi, 285, 286; Steward; Gayton, Yokuts; Lowie, Shosh. 213.

⁹¹ For Loon Woman see: present work tale no. 37, and note 82.

⁹² See tale no. 39, and note 96.

⁹³ See note 97.

⁹⁴ See tales no. 18, 33.

⁹⁵ According to the informant, the Rolling Head turned into the bird with the heart-necklace, the mythical Wukwuk.

⁹⁶ Curtin, Creation, 327, 458, 464; Radin, 141; Sapir, 124, 202; Dixon, Maidu texts, 191, Maidu myths, 98; Lowie, Shosh. 201, 203.

⁹⁷ Eating one's own body is found in the two Maidu versions given above and present work tale no. 38.

⁹⁸ See tale no. 36, and note 80.

⁹⁹ Dixon, Chimariko, 349.

¹⁰⁰ The method of kidnapping the child was fully described by the informant in English, but did not occur in the text. It corresponds closely to that described in tale no. 45.

¹⁰¹ See tale no. 44.

¹⁰² See tale no. 43.

¹⁰³ Anamit corresponds to Kukup'iwit of the McCloud Wintu.

¹⁰⁴ Lowie, Shosh. 75.

¹⁰⁵ Curtin, Creation, 141; Dixon, Maidu myths, 79, 80; Radin, 49; Merriam, 107; Goddard, Hupa, 124.

¹⁰⁶ See tale no. 47.

¹⁰⁷ See tale no. 46.

¹⁰⁸ See tale no. 65.

¹⁰⁹ For Underground Passage see: Curtin, Creation, 106, 183, 186, 196, 231, 393, 398, 433, 475; Goddard, Kato, 214, 215, 223; Barrett, Myths, 10; DuBois, Chaup, 237, 238; Merriam, 179; Kroeber, Hndb. 773; Sapir, 32; Dixon, Maidu myths, 48, Achomawi, 161, 174; Steward.

¹¹⁰ A description of mountain manzanitas, according to the informant.

¹¹¹ See Curtin's account of this story in Creation, 343.

¹¹² Curtin, Creation, 251; Merriam, 144, 180; Barrett, Myths, 10, 15.

¹¹³ For Fee Fo Fie Fum see: Curtin, Creation, 256; Radin, 31, 33; Lowie, Shosh. 186.

¹¹⁴ For Creation from Sticks see: Curtin, Creation, 243, 259, 483; Kroeber, Hndb. 206, 207; Powers, 227, 292; Merriam, 159; Bancroft, 91, 548; Sapir, 77, 209; Dixon, Achomawi, 159, 169; Lowie, Shosh. 3.

¹¹⁵ Kroeber, Karok, 3763, 3825, Hndb. 73; Reichard, 159. Cf. Powers, 342, 367; Clark, 92; Barrett, Myths, 22; Goddard, Hupa, 147.

¹¹⁶ Clark, 94; Powers, 367.

¹¹⁷ For Coyote's attempt to fly see tale no. 9.

¹¹⁸ Goddard, Chilula, 367.

¹¹⁹ For Tar Baby see: Radin, 9; Frachtenberg, 218; Burns, 131; Kroeber, Karok, 3747; Sapir, 227; Dixon, Maidu myths; Lowie, Shosh. 59.

¹²⁰ For Death Thought Sleep see: Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 231, 237, Wishosk, 102; Radin, 21, 59; Frachtenberg, 240; Harrington, 335; DuBois, Chaup, 226; Reichard, 197; Curtin, Creation, 437; Dixon, Maidu texts, 129, Maidu myths, 63, 91; Steward; Lowie, Shosh. 105; present work tale no. 58.

¹²¹ Dixon, Maidu texts, 99.

¹²² Lowie, N. Shosh. 242, 246.

¹²³ See tale no. 56, and note 120.

¹²⁴ The Wintu terms for granddaughter and grandfather also mean niece and uncle.

¹²⁵ Radin, 71; Goddard, Hupa, 239.

¹²⁶ The informant omitted the obscene portions of the story.

¹²⁷ For Penis Baby see: Sapir, 158; Dixon, Maidu texts, 77, Maidu myths, 89; Lowie, Shosh. 177.

¹²⁸ For Old Woman Disguise see: Goddard, Lassik, 137, Hupa, 155; Barrett, Comp. myth 37; Kroeber, Karok, 3747, 3801; Denny, 25:454; present work tale no. 18.

¹²⁹ Sapir, 106, 114.

¹³⁰ For Coyote as Sham Doctor see: Reichard, 177; Curtin, Creation, 332; Sapir, 126, 202, 226; Goddard, Chilula, 362; Dixon, Maidu texts, 74.

¹³¹ A similar literary device occurs in the Maidu version of the story. Dixon, Maidu texts, 71ff.

¹³² Lowie, Shosh. 173. Cf. Lowie, Shosh. 165.

¹³³ See tale no. 48.

¹³⁴ For Inexhaustible see: Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 228; Curtin, Creation, 63, 205-207, 223, 399, 434; Sapir, 71; DuBois, Religion of the Luiseño, 155, Chaup, 163; Sparkman, 36; Goddard, Hupa, 148; Dixon, Shasta, 12; Steward; Gayton, Western Mono; Lowie, Shosh. 106, 123, 152. Cf. Sapir, 231; Curtin, Creation, 236, 344, 390, 400, 437, 442.

¹³⁵ For Boy and Grandmother see: Curtin, Creation, 301, 313, 445, 478; Goddard, Kato, 223, Lassik, 139; Kroeber, S. C. Calif. 35; Dixon, Maidu myths, 59, 100, Maidu texts, 142, 147; Sapir, 18, 217; Frachtenberg, 214; Lowie, Shosh. 184; Gayton, Yokuts. Cf. Curtin, Creation, 121 and present work tale no. 7.

¹³⁶ See tale no. 7, and note 17.

¹³⁷ Lowie, N. Shosh. 27, Shosh. 136, 192.

¹³⁸ Dixon, Maidu texts, 161.

¹³⁹ Dixon, Maidu texts, 79.

¹⁴⁰ This tale was told to the informant by a Modesse Indian, but she claims it is known among the Wintu also.

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